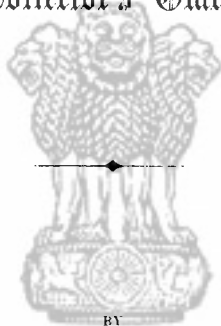


NOTES
ON THE
HISTORY OF MIDNAPORE,

As contained in Records extant in the
Collector's Office.



BY

सत्यमेव जयते

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सत्यमेव जयते

List of Officials in Midnapore, at the Presidency, and other places, during the interval between 1764-74.

1. MIDNAPORE RESIDENT OR COLLECTOR.

1764.—Anselm Beaumont and Hugh Watts.	1770.—George Vansittart, Edward Baber, and J. Petarce.
1765.—Hugh Watts and John Graham.	1771.—Edward Baber.
1768.—John Graham.	1772.—Edward Baber.
1767.—John Graham and George Vansittart.	1773.—Edward Baber and Samuel Lewis.
1768.—George Vansittart.	1774.—Samuel Lewis.
1769.—George Vansittart.	

2. HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT IN CALCUTTA.

1764.—H. Vansittart and J. Spencer.	1770.—J. Cartier.
1765.—J. Spencer and Lord Clive.	1771.—J. Cartier.
1766.—H. Verelst and Lord Clive.	1772.—J. Cartier and Warren Hastings.
1767.—J. Cartier and H. Verelst.	1773.—Warren Hastings and William Aldersey.
1768.—H. Verelst.	1774.—Warren Hastings.
1769.—H. Verelst.	

2A. SUPERVISOR.

1765.—H. Verelst.	1766.—H. Verelst.
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3. COLLECTOR-GENERAL.

1767.—Claud Russell.	1770.—Claud Russell.
1768.—Richard Becher.	1771.—Claud Russell.
1769.—James Alexander and Claud Russell.	

4. SUPERINTENDENT OF KHALSA.

1773.—John Graham and George Vansittart.	1774.—George Vansittart, Mr. Lawrell.
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5. SUPERVISOR OF THE KHALSA.

1773.—Richard Barwell.

6. MILITARY PAYMASTER.

1770.—Richard Barwell.

7. CALCUTTA SECRETARY TO COUNCIL.

1772.—J. Stewart.	1773.—J. Stewart.
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8. BURDWAN RESIDENT.

1766.—Mr. Ashburner.	1772.—Mr. Sumner, Charles Stewart.
1767.—Mr. Sykes and Mr. Graham.	1773.—Charles Stewart, John Bathoe.
1771.—Mr. Higginson.	1774.—John Bathoe.

9. BEERBHOOM RESIDENT.

1773.—John Sumner.

10. BALASORE RESIDENT.

1766.—Mr. Marriott.	1773.—Mr. Marriott. (Most probably Mr. Marriott all through.)
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11. HOOGHLY RESIDENT.

1770.—Mr. Graham.	1772.—Mr. Lushington.
1771.—Mr. Lushington.	1773.—Mr. Hosea.

12. CUTTACK RESIDENT.

1770.—Mr. Alleyne, or Allen.	1773.—Mr. Alleyne. (Most probably Mr. Alleyne in 1771 and 1772 al
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13. MINT-MASTER.

1765.—Alexander Campbell.



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NOTES

ON THE

HISTORY OF MIDNAPORE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

AN attempt is made in these notes to depict the relations of the East India Company in the last century with territories which were then known by the names of the Midnapore and Jellasure provinces, and the greater portion of which is now included in the Midnapore district. It is hoped that the information which is submitted, gleaned, as it has been, entirely from the old records extant in the Collector's office, will not be deemed quite uninteresting even by the general reader; to officials connected with the district by ties of duty; to indigo planters and others who have found it a field of successful commercial enterprise; to both, in remembrance of the many agreeable hours spent in Midnapore in quest of sport, it is believed that almost every line will prove sufficiently attractive to be perused without weariness.

A knowledge of the official attitude of the authorities towards the people among whom they resided for a time may certainly be acquired by an off-hand perusal of the following notes without the aid of an introduction. The acquisition necessarily would be piece-meal, and after all perhaps not well digested. With a preliminary chapter to help the reader, as it were, on his way, it is believed that these notes will be considered with increased intelligence and greater satisfaction, the more so as the notions of the generality of people regarding the mode in which the Company's servants conducted themselves in the old days in the discharge of their official functions, and the appliances they had at their disposal, are not particularly well defined.

FUNCTIONS OF THE RESIDENT.

The records which contain the past history of the district consist of letters addressed by the Chief or Resident (that is, the Company's principal European servant stationed at the head-quarters of a province

or factory) directly to the Government, to his immediate superiors, to his subordinates, and to other departments, and also of letters addressed to him from the same quarters. These letters deal with a multiplicity of subjects. On the Resident lay the responsibility of repelling an invasion, or of making an advance to the Company's weavers; of settling the revenue of a pergunnah, or of instituting a court-martial on a mutinous sepoy. They commence with the year 1764. It is to be regretted that they are wanting for an earlier period, concerning which all that is known is that there were Residents, Messrs. Johnstone and Burdett, and perhaps others, who, besides other exploits, repelled an invasion of the Mahrattas and made a revenue settlement of the district.

It is distinctly stated* that after the provinces of Midnapore and Jellasore were ceded by the Nabob, when Mr. Henry Vansittart was Governor, Mr. Johnstone,† the first Resident appointed to Midnapore, came and made a settlement of the district, which proceeding must have taken place about the year 1762. Mr. Johnstone was succeeded by Mr. Burdett,‡ in whose time the erection of a fort was commenced. The Revenue Board§ in 1787 said that since the Company first obtained possession of the district a period of six and twenty years had elapsed, thereby fixing the date of the acquisition to be 1761. In fact, it is expressly stated|| that the last year of the Nabob's Government was 1167 Amli, and that in 1168 Amli Mr. Johnstone settled its jumma. These years correspond with 1760 A.D. and 1761 A.D. respectively.

The principal European servant of the Company in Midnapore retained the title of Resident or Chief consistently not later than the year 1772.¶ About 1779 his official designation was altogether changed into that of Collector** or Superintendent of the Collections.†† He was never styled Supervisor. He was generally supported by one or more assistants. However, it is not to be supposed that as Chief or Resident he had no employment other than providing the Company's investment, or preventing encroachments on the Company's territory. Certainly so early as 1764, most probably several years before that time, he had complete control over the revenue settlements of the pergunnahs situated in his district; he had police-stations or thanas

* From the Collector to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, and Members of the Board of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 22nd September 1778.

† From J. Peiarce to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, &c., Members of the Council, Fort William, Revenue Department, dated Calcutta, the 15th November 1778.

‡ From the Collector to Mr. Shore, Acting President, and Members of the Committee of Revenue, Calcutta, dated Midnapore, the 3rd November 1781.

§ From the Revenue Board, consisting of Thomas Graham, John Mackenzie, and Richard Johnson, to Mr. J. Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 21st September 1787.

|| From the Collector, to John Shore, Esq., President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 11th October 1787.

¶ Apparently the first letter in which the Resident was addressed as Collector was from J. Stewart, Secretary to the Council, to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th October 1772.

** From Warren Hastings, Richard Barwell, P. Francis, Edward Wheler, to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 4th January 1779.

†† From Warren Hastings, Richard Barwell, P. Francis, Edward Wheler, in the Revenue Department, to Mr. John Peiarce, Superintendent of the Collections of Midnapore and Jellasore, dated Fort William, the 8th January 1779.

at selected sites in the provinces over which he presided, to which, there can be no doubt, some officers were appointed to preserve the peace of the district, to apprehend robbers and dacoits, and generally to act for the prevention of crime; and other officers who were more specially charged with the realization of the revenues under the designation of tehsildars. Both thanadars and tehsildars worked in concert, and the former were bound, and for the most part able, to render material assistance in the collection of the revenues whenever it was required by the latter. Indeed it is stated in the records that from the very first acquisition of the Midnapore district the provision of the investment was, in the eyes of the Resident, a matter of but secondary consideration, the collection of the revenue being held of primary importance. In a letter* written to S. Middleton, Esq., in May 1775, it was expressly declared that a greater attention had formerly been paid in Midnapore by the merchants (who were likewise landholders) to making good their quota of the revenues (by misappropriation of part of their advances) than to fulfilling their contracts, as the former was an object of much greater moment than the latter.

In a letter addressed to J. J. Keighley, Esq., Accountant to the Board of Trade at Fort William, dated the 16th December 1775, the Midnapore Resident said:—"You will find by the Midnapore books ending April 1775, and transmitted to the Board, that the cost of the fort and buildings has been brought as a balance under the head of Midnapore factory; why, I know not, as the principal, or rather only motive, of raising the several buildings here was for the collections. For some time after followed an establishment here of the Company's commercial concerns, they being gradually removed from Balasore, where the assortments now forming the Midnapore investment were formerly procured."

There can be no doubt that the Resident in Midnapore exercised a potential voice also in the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the country long before the introduction of the reforms brought in by Mr. Warren Hastings in 1772. Justice was administered, if not directly by him, by native officials specially appointed for the purpose; in criminal cases by the Faujdar; by the Dewan or Naib sitting in the Adalat in civil matters. But the execution of the decrees of the latter, and of the sentences pronounced by the former, was carried out by the Resident; and it is therefore a legitimate inference from very safe premises to conclude that the Resident was altogether in the end responsible for the good government of the country, though the extract from a letter from the Resident to the Provincial Council now quoted shows that nominally the disposal of criminal business, and the scrutiny of the expenditure attendant thereon, even so late as 1778,† were more particularly under the care of the Nabob of Moorshedabad:—"Accompanying you will please to receive the accounts for these districts for the month of Jeyt with the several receipts. The bills on account of the Fousedarry charges that were transmitted to you for the months of

* To S. Middleton, Esq., President of the Board of Trade, dated 15th May 1775, from the Resident of Midnapore.

† From the Collector to Mr. Higginson, Chief, &c., Members of the Provincial Council, Revenue, Burdwan, dated Midnapore, the 25th June 1778.

Faugoon, Cheyt, and Bysaac were given by the Fousedar here, as the Nabob had not transmitted any from the city; but His Excellency having now transmitted them, they are herewith forwarded to you. I therefore request you will return me those before sent of the Fousedar's, who has applied to me for them."

It should be stated that in still later years, when the administration of justice was taken out of the hands of the Collector, the same nominal subordination of the district criminal court to the authority of the Nabob was maintained; for in May 1782 the Committee of Revenue informed* the Collector that the pay of all the native officers of the Faujdari Adalat would be defrayed by the Naib Nazim himself, and that no further disbursements on this account were to appear in his monthly accounts. These orders were not meant to extend to the receipts of the Judges of the Dewani Adalats on account of their Faujdari charges, which were to be defrayed by the Collector as usual. The Collector was to require duplicate receipts of the gentlemen acting as Faujdars. It was afterwards explained† that the prohibition of the further payment of any vouchers for the expenses of the Faujdari Adalats was not to come into operation till the 1st Baisakh 1189 B.S.; in the meantime vouchers under the signature of the Naib Nazim for the pay of the officers of the Faujdari Adalats were to be discharged as usual by the Collector to the end of Chait 1188 B.S.

The Resident also directed all military movements. The sepoy were sent on deputation by his orders, and the commanding officer was bound to carry out his instructions to the very letter. Returns of the troops, and the accounts of their stores and ammunition, were also submitted to him, and explanation used to be required when punctuality in their transmission was not observed. His power for good or evil was far greater than is now exercised by the Collector of the largest district in Bengal, and so far from being a mere merchant or factor, responsible only for the safe and profitable investment of the Company's advances, he was at once a statesman, besides being the chief executive authority in the district. It is very probable that the business of the Company's investment occupied but a small portion of his attention, his consideration being mainly directed to the safe and tranquil settlement of the revenues, or the expulsion from the district of gangs of robbers and dacoits; to the destruction of a hostile French armament, or a skilful negotiation with the Mahrattas.

The acquisition of the Dewani by the Company took place in August 1765, but it would not by any means be correct to say that it was only from that date that the collection and receipt of the revenues in Midnapore passed into the hands of the Company's officials. The fiscal administration of the district had come to be regulated by them several years before 1765, and it is absolutely certain that the Resident devoted a very large portion of the time at his disposal to the consideration of revenue matters in 1764.

* From the Committee of Revenue, consisting of John Shore and S. Charters, to John Pearce, Collector, Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 30th May 1782.

† From the Revenue Committee, consisting of John Shore and John Evelyn, to John Pearce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 10th June 1782.

Warren Hastings quitted Fort St. George in 1772 to become the head of the Government in Bengal. A great historian has written* that "the only branch of politics about which the English functionaries busied themselves" (even so late as that year) "was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue, were almost entirely neglected." And again, "the collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary" (meaning the native minister at the court of Moorshedabad). Whatever modicum of truth there may be in the application of this remark when limited to the administration of justice or the maintenance of order, there can be no doubt whatever that in the district of Midnapore the officials cannot be charged with neglect of the land revenue branch of the administration for several years before 1772. It was only that the Resident came to be generally called Collector after 1772. There was no change or even modification of his functions introduced by the mere alteration in the mode of address. Almost the first letter† to be met with in the old records details the measures concerted in 1764 for the improved realization of the revenues by two of the ablest of the servants of the Company in Midnapore, Messrs. Beaumont and Watts.

In Midnapore‡ before 1772 there were no cutcherries held independent of the Faujdar's authority, which authority was delegated to, and exercised by, the Resident. In every pergunnah there was a cutcherry established for the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice under the management of a tehsildar (collector), who held his station by virtue of a perwannah from the Resident, and who acted as his representative, under the Resident's immediate orders. Almost all complaints were preferred directly to the Faujdar's or Resident's cutcherry, who issued his orders to the tehsildar of the pergunnah whence the complaint was made to inquire into the merits of the cause, and directed him in what manner he was to settle it. The tehsildar reported the result of his inquiry to the Resident, and these reports, together with the complaints and orders, were all registered and lodged in the Faujdar's cutcherry. It was explained that under this system there could be no arbitrary fines or impositions or taxes, nor could any authority be exercised independent of the Resident, who ruled and superintended the whole. It was to him that all appeals lay, and by him all regulations for the care of the inhabitants and the welfare of the province were made. It is doubtful what control or superintendence in excess of this is exercised by the Collector-Magistrate of a district in the present day. The machinery at his disposal may be more elaborate, the nomenclature in use may be more in accordance with the advanced notions current among us; in place of the tehsildar, the Magistrate issues his commands to inspectors and sub-inspectors, but it is likely that the tehsildar of 1772 was as sharp

* Essay on Warren Hastings, by Lord Macaulay, volume II, page 188.

† From A. Beaumont to the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq., President and Governor, &c., Committee of Lands, dated Fort William, 11th December 1764.

‡ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 3rd January 1772.

in unravelling the web of a dacoity, and as honest in refusing a bribe, as the bedecked and belted myrmidon of 1876. To dissipate every shadow of doubt from the subject, as well as to illustrate it, is here quoted a demi-official letter* dated the 10th of April 1772, and addressed by the Resident to Mr. Lushington, who was probably Resident at Hooghly:—"Dear Lushington,—I send you two fellows who have been taken up out of a gang that came into a pergunnah of mine, Bhunya-mutta, to rob and plunder; and enclosed I send you a copy of the petition which was presented to me, by which you will perceive that this nest of thieves is in your territory. It is necessary a severe example should be made of them, and I am sure of your hearty endeavours to bring the rest of the gang to justice, as well as your inflicting an exemplary punishment on the present delinquents, who I send to you for that purpose.—I am, dear Lushington, yours very sincerely, Edward Baber." And also another letter,† of the 2nd August, to John Sumner, Esq., probably Chief at Burdwan:—"Dear Sumner,—Long ere this you must doubtless have been acquainted with the propensity of your subjects to pilfer; upon the borders of this province they have the same inclination, and hence it is that mutual depredations are often made. By punishing the aggressors and rendering strict justice to the injured, it is to be hoped that we may in time make them more civilized and more tractable. Enclosed I send you a complaint from my people in Supur and Amainagar, from which you will fully learn the particulars of their grievance, and I am to request you will inquire into the matter, and where the offence is, there let the great axe fall.—I am, dear Sumner, yours sincerely, Edward Baber."

Were proofs and documents of a still anterior date required to satisfy the doubting reader, even they are forthcoming. On the 9th July 1768‡ the Resident wrote to Calcutta, saying:—"Some very horrid murders have lately been committed here. The perpetrators are now in prison; the facts have been fully proved upon them, and are confessed by themselves. What would you have me do with them? I wish to hang them for the sake of example, but do not think it proper to proceed to that extremity without your approbation."

To which a reply was made by the Collector-General§ on the 19th July 1768:—"Having spoken to the President concerning the murders mentioned in your letter of the 9th instant, he thinks an application to the Board unnecessary, and that the perpetrators ought to be tried in the Fousedar's court at Midnapore, where, if the facts are proved, they must be condemned to death; in which case I desire you will order their execution to be made in such a manner as may be most likely to deter others in future." It is clear that though the Faujdar was a native official, sitting in judgment with the assistance of the Mahomedan expounders of the law, and though his decisions were to a certain extent independent, still his proceedings were under the control and supervision of the Resident, who was undoubtedly held

* From the Resident to Mr. Lushington, dated Midnapore, the 10th April 1772.

† From the Resident to John Sumner, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 2nd August 1772.

‡ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 9th July 1768.

§ From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 19th July 1768.

responsible that criminal justice was dispensed with an impartial hand.*

ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENTS.

It appears proper in this place to anticipate to some extent the records of years subsequent to those the occurrences of which are narrated in the following chapters, and to show clearly the successive changes that were from time to time made of the particular officials who in Midnapore were charged with the duties of Collector of the Revenue, of Judge, and of Magistrate. As will have been already learnt, in Midnapore, in the earliest times of its acquisition, the Resident, or Chief, or Superintendent of the Collections, was the chief revenue authority in the district. Moreover, if he did not himself exercise all the functions of the executive, he certainly was vested with its superintendence. In him also was centred the supervision of the proceedings of the courts of justice, both civil and criminal. This was in accordance with what was to be expected. Mir Kasim's assignment† of the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong was made in September 1760, and the Company were constrained to establish in those three provinces, from the date of their acquisition, the usual zemindari courts,‡ in the same way as they had already done in the district round Calcutta, and as they afterwards did,§ with certain modifications and improvements, universally throughout Bengal, Behar, and Orissa seven years after the cession of the Dewani in 1765.|| These zemindari courts were the Faujdari, or criminal court, the Mal Adalat, or court for the disposal of revenue questions, and the Dewani Adalat, or cutcherry for the trial of civil causes. In the first few years of their occupation, and indeed for a considerable time after, it was not possible, nor at all necessary, for the Company to depute to a district more than one European official, who not only looked after the commercial concerns of his masters, but also, so far as Midnapore was concerned, represented them as the zemindar of the province,—that is, disposed of all fiscal questions, as well as superintended the proceedings of the two courts, Mofussil Faujdari and Mofussil Dewani.

FIRST CHANGE.

In May 1774 the local superintendence of the Resident or Collector in Midnapore was abolished¶ by the withdrawal of Mr. Samuel Lewis to Burdwan. In a paper** of the 3rd May 1774 it was said that Mr. Vansittart, the Chief of the Provincial Council of the Division of Burdwan, was to set out in a few days for Midnapore. Upon his

The procedure pointed out by the Collector-General was undoubtedly that which ordinarily obtained in criminal cases. The Faujdar pronounced his fatwa, or judgment, which used to be submitted to the Naib Nazim for confirmation. On receipt of the Naib's orders, the Resident executed them. The case under notice was special: the murders were committed under circumstances of great atrocity, and the Resident, perhaps unnecessarily, was induced to ask for instructions. It was pointed out to him, very properly, that the usual procedure could not be departed from.

† Mills' History, volume III, page 215, book IV, chapter V

‡ Mills' History, volume III, page 15, book IV, chapter I.

§ Mills' History, volume III, page 371, book V, chapter I.

|| Mills' History, volume III, page 286, book IV, chapter VII

¶ Mills' History, volume IV, page 2, book V, chapter III.

** From Warren Hastings, Aldersey, Daeres, Lawrell, and Graham, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector, Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 3rd May 1774.

arrival Mr. Lewis was to deliver over the charge of his Collectorship and take his seat as a Member of the Provincial Council. Mr. Lewis was to proceed with Mr. Vansittart to Burdwan as soon as the necessary arrangements were made for the future management of the business of the Midnapore district, which consisted in the appointment of a native deputy or naib* to superintend the work of realizing the revenue and to hold courts of fiscal judicature called Dewani Adalat. Apparently before this change had been decided upon the following orders,† prohibiting the Company's servants from engaging in the inland trade, were promulgated :—

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four it shall not be lawful for any Collector, Supervisor, or any other of His Majesty's subjects employed or concerned in the collection of the revenues or the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, or Orissa, or their agents or servants, or any person or persons in trust for them, to buy any goods, wares, merchandize, or other commodities whatsoever, by way of traffic or trade at any place within the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and to sell the same again, or any part thereof, at the place where he or they bought the same, or at any other place within the said provinces, respectively ; and it shall not be lawful for any of His Majesty's subjects in the said provinces to engage, intermeddle, or be any way concerned, directly or indirectly, in the inland trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, or rice, except on the account of the said United Company, on pain of forfeiting all such goods or commodities which he shall so buy and sell again by way of traffic, or in which he shall so trade ; and also treble the value thereof, one moiety to the said United Company and the other moiety to him or them who will sue for the same in the said Supreme Court ; and every such person on conviction shall, moreover, be liable to be sent to England by such order as aforesaid, unless he or they shall give sufficient security to remove him or themselves within twelve months after such conviction.”

It would appear that the criminal branch of judicature among the natives was remitted to the nominal government of the Nabob and exercised under the superintendence of Mahomed Reza Khan.‡ A gentleman holding the rank of junior merchant, with an allowance made to him as such of 20 Company's rupees per mensem, was stationed in Midnapore with the title of Commercial Resident,§ in which capacity his salary was 150 sicca rupees.

SECOND CHANGE.

In April 1777 a return was made to the old arrangements, and Mr. Peiarce, who was by rank a senior merchant,|| was appointed

* Mills' History, volume IV, page 2, book V, chapter III.

† Copy of the 27th section of the Chapter 63, 13th of the King, being the enclosure to a circular letter from E. Hay, Secretary to the Government, Revenue Department, to W. N. W. Hewett, Esq., Judge of the Dewani Adalat at Hiji, dated Revenue Department, Council Chamber, the 30th January 1783.

‡ Mills' History, volume IV, page 6 book V, chapter III.

§ From the Resident to Samuel Middleton, Esq., President, &c., Members of the Board of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 15th August 1775.

|| From J. Peiarce, Esq. to David Anderson, Esq., President, and Members of the Committee of Revenue, Calcutta, dated Midnapore, the 10th November 1784.

Collector of Midnapore and Jellasure,* to have that local control over the affairs relating to the revenues of the two districts which had been abrogated in 1774 in favour of the superintendence of the Provincial Council of Burdwan. This return is apparently unnoticed by Indian historians; it may be that it was not generally made throughout Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and that Midnapore was considered exceptionally circumstanced, and was treated in a special manner. Undoubtedly it was the tendency of the time to abolish the local authority of the Collectors, and to centre all control in Councils or Committees to be stationed at selected towns in the provinces, or to sit at the Presidency. After Mr. Peiarce's appointment, a separate European official, one Mr. King,† was stationed as Commercial Resident in Midnapore.

No change in the arrangements made in 1774 for the distribution of civil and criminal justice seems to have been introduced in 1777, after which year Mr. Peiarce was addressed by the members of Government‡ (Warren Hastings, Barwell, Francis, Wheeler, and Eyre Coote) indifferently as Collector of Midnapore, or Collector of Midnapore and Jellasure, or Superintendent of the Collections. His status as Collector was so distinctly kept in view that when Mr. Charters was sent in 1777 to carry out the settlement of Midnapore and its dependencies, the Provincial Council judged it expedient to appoint Mr. Peiarce to act with Mr. Charters as a committee of their Board at Midnapore, in order, as they said, to obviate the many inconveniences and delays which would inevitably attend the transaction of the business at Burdwan. Mr. Peiarce was to understand that the appointment of Mr. Charters was not intended to interfere in any degree with his station of the Superintendent of the Collections of Midnapore,§ but was confined solely to the business of the revenue settlement. It was not till 1778, however, that the Honourable the Governor-General and Council were pleased to make Midnapore a separate collectorship,|| the actual separation of the district from the Burdwan division not taking place till the 1st December 1778.¶

THIRD CHANGE.

The next change to be chronicled was made in 1781,** when a court, separate from the Provincial Council, and styled Dewani Adalat, was established in Midnapore for the cognizance of such disputes as arose between individuals; all such disputes as affected the revenue continuing

* From Alexander Higginson, W. Marriott, W. Pye, and Samuel Charters, to Mr. J. Peiarce, dated Burdwan, the 11th April 1777.

† From Alexander Higginson, W. Marriott, W. Pye, to Mr. John Peiarce, Midnapore, dated Burdwan, the 28th August 1777.

‡ To Mr. King, Commercial Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 1st December 1778 (probably from Mr. Peiarce).

§ From Warren Hastings, Richard Barwell, P. Francis, Edward Wheeler, Eyre Coote to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 24th March 1779.

§ From Alexander Higginson, William Marriott, William Pye, and Samuel Charters, to Mr. John Peiarce, Midnapore, dated Burdwan, the 12th August 1777.

|| From J. Peiarce (probably) to Mr. William Marriott, Chief, &c., Members of the Provincial Council, Revenue, Burdwan, dated Midnapore, the 28th December 1778.

¶ To Charles Croftes, Esq., Accountant-General to the Board, Fort William, from the Collector, dated Midnapore, the 30th June 1779.

** Mills' History, volume IV, page 244, book V, chapter VI.

subject exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Collector, Mr. Peiarce, in Midnapore; of the Provincial Council elsewhere. Mr. Peiarce in 1781 as Collector enjoyed a salary of Sicca Rupees 1,200 per mensem and Rs. 300 house-rent; * his assistant got Rs. 372 and house-rent Rs. 60; † his dewan got Rs. 150 per mensem.

A covenanted servant of the Company was appointed‡ to preside over the local Dewani Adalat, who was Mr. Shearman Bird,§ sworn into office by Mr. Peiarce in August 1781.|| The Collector, writing some years later, in 1786,¶ to the Preparer of Reports to the Revenue Department, said that the Dewani Adalat was formed, and the Magistrate arrived, about May or June 1781.

It would be well to bear in mind the nature and extent of the Magistrate's authority.** Besides being Superintendent of the Dewani Adalat, he was vested with the power of apprehending depredators and delinquents within the bounds of his jurisdiction, but not of trying or punishing them, a power which was still reserved to the Nizamat Adalat acting in the name of the Nabob. In other words, Mr. Bird was Police-Magistrate as well as Civil Judge, in which latter capacity he was allowed, on the recommendation of Sir Elijah Impey and with the approval of the Board,†† “a fee of 10 per cent. on all deposit fees to be received at the commencement of causes in his court.” Mr. Bird had a registrar, or, as he was styled in 1781, “register,” who was Mr. Camac,‡‡ Mr. Peiarce's assistant, succeeded by Mr. George Purling in June 1784.§§ The creation of a European Magistrate, to whom were transferred at least some of the duties entrusted to the Police Magistrates, called Faujdars and Thanadars, introduced in 1774, did not interfere, however, with the subordination of the Faujdar to the Naib Nazim, which was still recognized, as the following letter||| will show:—“I have received your receipts for Fauzdarry charges for the months of Asar, Sravan, and Bhadon, at Rs. 481 per mensem. In reply, I am to inform you that I am directed by the Committee of Revenue to discharge the allowance to the officers of the Fauzdarry Adalat under the attestation of the Naib Nazim, as usual. And likewise, that I am to make the necessary advances to the Judges of the several Dewani Adalats for their Fauzdarry expenses.

* Establishment for the Midnapore collectorship, charges, collections; Calcutta, dated 1st November 1781.

† Even down to 1785 Mr. Peiarce's assistant got Rs. 432 per mensem, *vide* letter from Mr. Purling, assistant, to John Peiarce, Esq., Collector of Midnapore, dated Midnapore, the 12th March 1785.

‡ To Isaac Baugh, Esq., Secretary to the Revenue Department, from Mr. Peiarce (probably), dated Midnapore, the 29th August 1781.

§ To Mr. Shore, Acting President of the Committee of Revenue, Calcutta, from Mr. Peiarce (probably), dated Midnapore, the 9th August 1781.

|| To Mr. Bird from J. Peiarce (probably), dated the 10th July 1781.

¶ From the Collector, to John Duncan, Esq., Preparer of Reports to the Revenue Department, Khalsa Midnapore, the 6th October 1786.

** Mills' History, volume IV page 252, book V, chapter VI.

†† From William Johnson, Register of the Sudder Adalat, to S. Bird, Esq., Judge of the Dewani Adalat at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 5th June 1781.

‡‡ To Samuel Charters, Esq., Acting President, &c., Committee of Revenue, from the Collector (probably), dated Midnapore, the 23rd June 1784.

§§ From W. Webber, Secretary to the Revenue Department, to Mr. George Purling, dated Fort William, the 7th April 1784.

||| From the Collector to S. Bird, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 13th October 1781.

"I am therefore now to inform you that before the receipt of yours I had received a letter from the Nazim enclosing an attestation for the payment of Rs. 459-6 and Rs. 105 to Mir Sadak Ally as his Fauzdarry allowance for the month of Asar, and which sums were accordingly paid him."

Monthly advances used to be made* from the treasury on account of the prisoners in the Faujdari jail for their allowance of diet; the sum used to be repaid when the cash for that purpose was issued out by the Nabob.

While dwelling on this subject, it may not be deemed out of place to give some account of the duties zemindars and others owed to the Dewani Adalats. Such is accordingly afforded in the extract of the subsidiary regulations for the administration of civil justice quoted in the appendix.†

Some years later, in 1785, Magistrates were invested with the power of adjudicating in criminal cases of a trifling nature, when all the Faujdari summonses were issued‡ by Mr. Bird, and in his absence by the Register, Mr. Hewett. The Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department wrote§ to the Committee of Revenue, which body, as will be shown hereafter, had taken the place of the Provincial Council:—"I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council to acquaint you that, for the more speedy and effectual administration of criminal justice, they have thought proper to invest the Magistrates with powers to hear and determine, without any reference to the Fauzdarry Court, all prosecutions for petty offences, such as abusive language or calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays, pilferings, and the like; but that in all cases affecting either the life or limb of the party accused, or subjecting him or her to imprisonment for any term exceeding the space of four days, or to corporal punishment exceeding fifteen rattans, the Magistrates do proceed, according to the existing regulations, to remit the case to the hearing and determination of the established criminal courts."

It should be remarked that beside the ordinary courts of penal judicature, special commissions for the trial of desperate or extraordinary criminals were occasionally obtained from the Naib Suba on application made to the Governor-General.

In the year 1781 also the Provincial Council of Burdwan, which had hitherto acted as the next superior controlling authority over the Collector of Midnapore, was abolished,|| and the powers with which it had been vested were transferred to the Committee of Revenue formed at the Presidency, to which body the Collector of Midnapore was accordingly henceforth subordinate.

The first Members of the Committee of Revenue were Mr. David Anderson, John Shore, Samuel Charters, and C. Croftes, the first-named

* From the Collector to the Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 26th October 1785.

† *vide* Appendix No. 1.

‡ From the Collector (probably) to C. Crommelin, Esq. (probably Commercial Resident), at Ghatal, dated Midnapore, the 30th August 1786.

§ From W. Webber, Secretary, Revenue Department, to W. Cowper, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Revenue, dated Fort William, the 15th April 1785.

|| From S. Charters and C. Croftes, to Mr. J. Dyneley, Superintendent of the Collections, dated Calcutta, the 6th May 1784.

¶ Mills' History, volume IV, page 253, book V, chapter VI.

gentleman being President. On this subject two letters,* quoted in the appendix, dated respectively the 9th and 20th February 1781, and addressed to Mr. Pearce, may prove interesting.

The regulations† dated 12th August 1783, quoted also in the appendix, detail the powers to be exercised by the Committee, Chiefs, and Collectors with regard to zemindars.

For Tumlook, which is now a sub-division of the Midnapore district, there are records extant from the year 1783, from which it is seen that in that year there was a Salt Agent stationed there, who performed the functions of a Collector; he also exercised to some extent a criminal jurisdiction. It appears that criminals were ordinarily tried at Chitpore, at least for the graver offences committed in the Tumlook division, as the following quotation‡ will show:—"I have received your letter of the 14th instant, and request that you will send up Subudtree, the murderer, to me, that I may deliver her up to the Fauzdarry Adalat at Chitpore for trial. It will be necessary also to send up the following witnesses, &c." But in October 1783 the Collector of Salt Districts wrote§ to the Salt Agent regarding a case of causing abortion, saying,—“The prisoners ought properly to be tried by the Fauzdarry Adalat at Chitpore, but as the extensive jurisdiction of this court burthens it with more business than it can get through, there is very great delay in the trials, and sometimes the prisoners cannot be tried at all. In the meantime the prisoners and witnesses must be maintained at the expense of Government; I therefore recommend to you the trial of these persons in the Zemindarry Court in your district, as the offence by the Mussulman law is not capital; and inflict such punishment as may prevent such practices in future.”

In the December ensuing, the following letter|| was written:—
 “When the Fauzdars of Tumlook and Mysadul were recalled, about three years ago, the business of that department was conducted in the name of the zemindars till such time as you were pleased to adopt the measure of fixing an establishment for having the business conducted by my predecessor, which, I look upon as a duty incumbent on me to acquaint you, has turned out every way satisfactory to the native inhabitants of these districts, and effectually put it out of the power either of the zemindars or their servants to oppress them by confinement or undue exactions. It is therefore incumbent on me, for their future relief and for the better preservation of the country, to recommend that the business of the Fauzdarry be conducted at the public cutcherries, agreeable to the system adopted during the time of my predecessor, and that complaints be received at the cutcherry by the servants on the part of Government and those of the zemindars, and that all trifling complaints be immediately investigated and settled there; but in those of a more serious nature, the parties to be

* *Vide* Appendices Nos. 2 and 3.

† *Vide* Appendix No. 4.

‡ From Henry Vansittart, Collector of Salt Districts, to W. Dent, Agent for the Division of Tumlook, dated Salt Office, the 22nd September 1783.

§ From Henry Vansittart, Collector of Salt Districts to W. Dent, Agent for the Division of Tumlook, dated Salt Office, the 14th October 1783.

|| From the Salt Agent of Tumlook to Henry Vansittart, Collector of the Salt Districts, dated Tumlook, the 16th December 1783.

sent up to Mr. Campbell, with whom it will be necessary to continue the vakeels that are now there to attend on the part of each zemindarry.

"The establishment you have been pleased to allow for conducting the business of the Fauzdarry will be full sufficient with the addition of one canoongo-mohurir to attend at the Tumlook cutcherry, the same as at Mysadul, and two hundred rupees annually for the subsistence of the prisoners during the time they are in confinement. These recommendations will, I flatter myself, meet with your approbation and approval."

In the same month of December was written the reply* to this letter:—

"I have received your letter of the 16th instant, and I authorize you to take the Fauzdarry business into your own hands and conduct it yourself in the name of the zemindar, according to the plan which you have described."

FOURTH CHANGE.

On the 27th November 1786 Mr. John Peiarce, the Collector, was appointed to the vacant offices of Judge and Magistrate of the division of Midnapore and Jellasure.† In the January following the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council was pleased to pass the following resolution:—

"Agreed that the Collector of Midnapore be, from the 15th instant, as Judge, allowed the same reduced establishment and salary as are drawn by the Judge of Chittagong, and as the several other stations where the office of Judge is united to the Collectorship, viz. Sicca Rs. 1,602 per mensem."‡

In the beginning of 1787 the following letter was notified for general information:—

"The Court of Directors having determined that it will tend more to simplicity, energy, justice, and economy to reinvest the provincial Chiefs or Collectors with the superintendency of the Courts of Dewani Adalat, it is our resolution that this determination shall take effect from the commencement of the ensuing Bengal year 1194.

"The Collectors are to continue as at present to act under your immediate orders in all revenue matters, and to correspond with us on any subjects relating to the administration of justice or the general government of the country.

"In order to prevent the interference of private banyans or agents, of any denomination, who have no official employ or responsibility, as well as for other considerations, the Court of Directors have ordered that official dewans shall be stationed with each Collector, upon the principles of the regulations of 1773. We deem it advisable to permit the Collectors to recommend the persons stationed with them

* From Henry Vansittart, Collector of Salt Districts, to William Dent, Agent for the Division of Tumlook, dated the 17th December 1783.

† To Mr. John Peiarce, Collector at Midnapore, from William Bruere, Secretary, Council, Revenue Department, dated Council Chamber, the 27th November 1786.

‡ From W. Bruere, Secretary, Revenue Department, to Mr. J. Peiarce, Judge at Midnapore, dated Council Chamber, the 10th January 1787.

as dewans, subject, however, to your confirmation under this special restriction, that the persons so recommended by them shall not serve them as their private banyans or in any private capacity.

"It is not our meaning that the dewans are to hold or exercise any authority independent of the Collectors, but in all respects to act under their immediate orders and control.

"The power of apprehending in criminal cases, which by the Regulations of Justice is vested in the Judges of the Adalat in their capacity of Magistrates, will of course be transferred to the Collector in his judicial capacity."*

In April 1787 the Assistant Secretary to Government wrote to Mr. Peiarce,†—"I am directed to inform you it has this day been further resolved that your allowance, both as Collector and Judge, be henceforth consolidated and fixed at the rate of fifteen hundred sicca rupees per mensem.

"3rd.—It has been determined that two assistants be allowed to your station, the senior of whom is of course to be Register of the Adalat; and that their allowances have been fixed at the rate of Rs. 500 per mensem to the former and Rs. 400‡ to the latter; which is to include, and be in lieu of, all allowances whatsoever that might be drawn or claimed by the respective ranks in the service. Mr. Dickson has been appointed your first, and Mr. J. B. Burges your second, assistant.

"4th.—Enclosed you will receive a copy of the establishment which has been allowed you as Judge of the Adalat at Midnapore, according to which you are to nominate the several officers of that court."

Mr. Peiarce's personal salary was exclusive of such commission as might hereafter be allowed, but included the consolidated allowances of Judge, Magistrate, and Collector.§

The establishment for the Dewani Adalat was fixed at Rs. 556 a month, to commence from the 1st June 1787.¶ It should be remembered that these changes did not affect the subordination of the regular Faujdari courts to the Naib Nazim, who had still the superintendence of those tribunals.¶¶

The student of history will find in these arrangements an illustration of the regulations passed in 1787, whereby Collectors of Revenue were again vested with the powers of judicature and police, by having

* Extract of a letter from the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, dated 5th February 1787, being the enclosure to a letter from J. Shore, Thomas Graham, and John Mackenzie, to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 10th April 1787.

† To Mr. J. Peiarce, Collector and Judge of Midnapore, from John Duncan, Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, dated Council Chamber, the 18th April 1787.

‡ However, it was plainly stated in the June following that the Register's allowance was Rs. 300 per mensem; and in the December previous it was said that assistants at a subordinate got a salary of Rs. 300. To Mr. Duncan, Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, Calcutta, from the Collector, dated Midnapore, the 14th June 1787, and from William Dickson and J. B. Burges, to John Peiarce, Esq., Collector of Midnapore, dated 29th December 1786.

§ To Mr. J. Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, from William Cowper, Thomas Graham, John Mackenzie, Richard Johnson, dated Calcutta, the 24th April 1787.

¶ From the Collector to John Shore, Esq., President of the Board of Revenue, dated the 4th June 1787.

¶¶ Extract of a letter from the Governor-General in Council, dated 21st May 1788, and recorded in the proceedings of the Board of Revenue dated the 27th of the same month.

conveyed to them the principal authority in the Dewani Adalats, with the power of Magistrates in apprehending offenders against the public peace: in other words, they were vested with the triple power of Revenue Agents, of Judges, and of Police Magistrates.*

Accordingly in 1787 Mr. Peiarce, the Judge, Magistrate, and Collector of Midnapore, used to transmit† to the Right Hon'ble Earl Cornwallis, Governor-General, &c., Members of the Sudder Dewani Adalat, at Fort William, an abstract register of causes decreed during the course of each month. In the appendix is given a copy of certain regulations for the guidance of the Collector or Superintendent of the two courts of civil and criminal justice.‡

Previous to this return to the old system, in June 1786, in conformity to orders§ received from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, the Committee of Revenue was dissolved, and a Board of Revenue constituted in its room, of which John Stables, Esq., was to be President, Messrs. Cowper, Graham, Mackenzie, Johnson, and Evelyn members, to be resident at the Presidency.|| Besides the Board of Revenue at Calcutta, there was a Supreme Board, called the Hon'ble Board, consisting of the Governor-General and Members of Council.¶

Before describing the next change it would not be amiss to explain the views of the Government in 1787 regarding the allowances sanctioned for Collectors, and the way in which it was hoped they would comport themselves. They are embodied in a letter written in the month of July,** which, being of sufficient importance to be quoted *in extenso*, will be found in the appendix.††

Two years later, in March 1789, an order‡‡ was passed by the Governor-General in Council precluding the Judge of the Mofussil Dewani Adalat at Midnapore from any concern whatever in commercial transactions, or in the management of any banking-house or house of agency, from and after the first day of May 1789. Collectors of Revenue and Customs were also so precluded.

As regards Tumlook, the Salt Agent reported§§ in March 1787 that the districts had been khas ever since the month of October 1781, and the management of the revenues annexed to his agency by order of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council; since which time the zemindars of Tumlook and Mysadul had not been invested with any authority. The Governor-General in Council had been pleased to annex to the Agent

* Mills' History, volume V, page 332, book VI, chapter V.

† From J. Peiarce to the Right Hon'ble Earl Cornwallis, Governor-General, &c., Members of the Sudder Dewani Adalat, Fort William, dated Mofussil Dewani Adalat, Midnapore, the 1st August 1787.

‡ Vide Appendix No. 5.

§ From A. Seton, Assistant Secretary, to John Peiarce, Esq., Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 1st June 1786.

|| From J. Stables, William Cowper, Thomas Graham, John Mackenzie, and J. Evelyn, to Mr. J. L. Chauvet, Resident at Jellalore, dated Calcutta, the 21st September 1786, Revenue Board.

¶ From William Cowper, Thomas Graham, Richard Johnson, J. Evelyn, to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 8th November 1786, Revenue Board.

** From John Duncan, Secretary to the Council, Council Chamber, Revenue Department, to John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated the 18th July 1787.

†† Vide Appendix No. 6.

‡‡ From E. Hay, Secretary, to C. Burrowes, dated Council Chamber, the 4th March 1789.

§§ From William Dent, Salt Agent of Tumlook, to Thomas Calvert, Collector of the Salt Districts, dated Tumlook, the 13th March 1787.

of the Tumlook Division the charge of Collector of the Land Revenue, giving it as the reason "that the two articles could not be separated (considering it so blended with the salt) without embarrassing the managers and creating a loss to Government." The Salt Agent then proceeded to say that if the Adalat were annexed to his agency in any way the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council might be pleased to order, he was fully persuaded the inhabitants would derive from it much ease and comfort, and it would be the saving of a great expense, which they were under the necessity of incurring whenever complaints were preferred against them, and those complaints settled and adjusted at so great a distance from their own habitations.

In the June following the Salt Agent was appointed Judge and Magistrate and sworn in at the Council House in Calcutta.* On this point the following letter will be perused with interest:—

"† I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council to acquaint you that, in consequence of a system that has been lately generally adopted throughout the provinces for re-annexing to the officer in charge of the collections the authority of administering justice in civil cases, his Lordship has this day been pleased to appoint you Judge of the Dewani Adalat, which you are hereby directed to establish and open at the seat of your agency and collectorship, and to carry on the administration of justice in all cases that may come before you, and that appertain to persons and property within the local extent of your collections, according to the spirit and, as nearly as present circumstances will admit, to the letter of the Judicial Regulations, of which a printed copy is herewith transmitted to you for immediate use, it being intended to furnish you with an amended code which is now preparing.

"The Governor-General in Council has also been pleased to vest in you the authority of Magistrate. Your duty as such is to apprehend all robbers, murderers, and thieves, and in general all disturbers of the peace, and to deliver them over with a written charge under your signature to the nearest Fauzdarry Adalat to take their trials; but for the more speedy and effectual administration of criminal justice you are invested with power to hear and determine, without any reference to the Fauzdarry Court, all prosecutions for petty offences, such as abusive language or calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays, pilferings and the like. But in all cases affecting either the life or the limb of the party accused, or subjecting him or her to imprisonment for any term exceeding the space of four days, or to corporal punishment exceeding fifteen rattans, you will proceed, according to the existing regulations, to remit the cause to the hearing and determination of the established criminal courts.

"In your capacity of Civil Judge of the Adalat of Tumlook you are to correspond with the Sudder Dewani Adalat and occasionally

* From John Duncan, Secretary, Revenue Department, to Mr. William Dent, Judge and Magistrate of the Salt Division of Tumlook, dated Council Chamber, the 27th June 1787.

† From John Duncan, Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, to Mr. H. Dent, dated Council Chamber, the 4th June 1787.

† To Mr. W. N. W. Hewett from John Duncan, Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, dated Council Chamber, the 4th June 1787.

with the Governor-General in Council, as you will find directed in the Judicial Regulations. As Magistrate your correspondence is to lie with the Remembrancer to the Criminal Courts, an office at present held by Mr. John White, whose instructions you will strictly adhere to in making the monthly returns of your proceedings in the manner that he will point out. As Salt Agent, and in charge of the collections, you are to consider yourself as remaining, as before, subject to, and under the control of, the Salt Department.

"Enclosed is a copy of the establishment which has been allowed you in your judicial capacity, according to which you will appoint the officers of your court. The Board think the amount fully sufficient to enable you to conduct with propriety and effect the new duties entrusted to you, considering the comparatively small number of causes that will probably come before you and the other establishments already allowed to you as Salt Agent, and as the person entrusted with the immediate charge of the collections.

"Enclosed are two forms of oaths which you are to take and subscribe to in the most public and solemn manner in presence of Mr. Hewett, the Agent and officer in charge of the collections of the neighbouring division of Hijli in like manner as he has been instructed to take and subscribe to the same oaths before you previous to his entering upon the new similar authorities that have been vested in him throughout his own division. These oaths, when thus taken and signed to, you are to return to me."

It may be remarked *en passant* that it was stated in August 1790 that the Dewani Adalat in Tumlook was closed for three months—July, August, and September—on account of the cultivation of the land.*

The establishment allowed the Judge† of the two salt divisions of Tumlook and Hijli (which is also a subdivision of the Midnapore district), Messrs. Dent and Hewett, consisted‡ of a darogah on Rs. 80 a month, a muharrir on Rs. 30, a pandit on Rs. 20, two munshis on Rs. 25 each, a sheristadar on Rs. 30, a mulla on Rs. 5, a Brahmin on Rs. 5, a jemadar on Rs. 10, eight peons on Rs. 32; the total cost being Rs. 262 per mensem.

It should be borne in mind that all Europeans not British subjects were equally amenable with the natives to the authority of the Magistrate within his own district, and to the Faujdari Court to which they might be committed.§ The only exceptions to this rule were those subjects of France resident within "her six ancient factories of Chandernagore, Cossim Bazar, Dacca, Nuddea, Balasore, and Patna, which, with the territories belonging to them, were under the protection of the flag and subject to the French jurisdiction."

Mr. Hewett, the Salt Agent of Hijli, as Magistrate|| was invested from the 1st January 1791 with the charge of the Faujdari jail and

* From J. Raye, Assistant, Tumlook Division, to Mr. J. Cornish, Assistant Collector of the Salt Districts, Fort William, dated Tumlook, the 14th August 1790.

† The enclosure to letter from John Duncan, Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, to Mr. W. N. W. Hewett, dated Council Chamber, the 4th June 1787.

‡ Tumlook Dewani Adalat establishment, dated Tumlook, the 30th June 1790.

§ From Lord Cornwallis and Charles Stuart to W. N. W. Hewett, Esq., Magistrate of Hijli, dated Fort William, the 12th November 1788.

|| From E. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary, to W. N. W. Hewett, Magistrate, Hijli, dated 15th December 1790, Revenue Department, Council Chamber.

prisoners, and also of the malkhana. He was further authorized to issue the established diet money to the prisoners in confinement. The duties connected with this charge were hitherto performed by the darogah of the criminal court at Hijli, who also kept the records of the court.

In the letter from which this information regarding the accession to Mr. Hewett's duties is obtained is accorded the first notice of the creation of courts of circuit, established for the trial of offenders.

The Magistrate of Hijli* was to send all prisoners he might have committed before or since the change of system for the administration of criminal justice, and all persons who might be hereafter apprehended within his jurisdiction against whom there might appear sufficient grounds for commitment to Midnapore, furnishing the Magistrate of that district with the charges preferred against them in the form prescribed by the existing Faujdari regulations. The Judges of the Court of Circuit on arrival at Midnapore would try these Hijli cases.

FIFTH CHANGE.

In the end of 1792, or in the beginning of 1793, the Collector of Midnapore, Mr. Cosby Burrowes, was deposed, apparently because his endeavours to secure a satisfactory condition of the revenue collections were not entirely successful. It had about the same time been decided that the offices of Magistrate and Collector should be separated, and the Governor-General in Council availed himself of the opportunity to appoint Mr. Dowdeswell, a man endowed with great ability and judgment, to be the chief revenue authority in Midnapore.† Mr. Burrowes remained as Magistrate‡ and Mr. John Fendall became Judge,§ till later in the year, in May, the offices of Judge of the Dewani and Magistrate of the zillah of Midnapore were amalgamated in the person of Mr. Fendall.|| Mr. Dowdeswell was appointed to be Sub-Secretary and Persian and Bengali Translator to the Board of Revenue, and Mr. C. Ogilvie was deputed to fill his place in Midnapore. Mr. Burrowes disappears from the scene entirely. Later in the year there was another change. Mr. Ogilvie¶ applied for leave of absence for a month on account, as it is quaintly said, of a violent disorder in his bowels, for which his physician recommended a change to sea; and Mr. Dowdeswell, whose worth was known to the Board, was sent to fill his place till his return.** It was distinctly said†† that Mr. Dowdeswell was intimately acquainted with the decennial settlement of Midnapore, and that his experience would, in the Board's opinion, be of good service in the revenue administration of the district.

* To W. N. W. Hewett, Esq., Magistrate of Hijli, from Register, Nizamut Adalat, dated Fort William, the 31st October 1791.

† To Mr. G. Dowdeswell, Acting Collector of Midnapore, from Thomas Graham, Charles Chapman, J. Buller, and another, Revenue Board, 21st December 1792.

‡ To Cosby Burrowes, Esq., Magistrate at Midnapore, from Thomas Dashwood, Civil Auditor, Fort William, Civil Auditor's Office, 16th January 1793.

§ To John Fendall, Esq., Judge, Midnapore (apparently from the Collector), dated 6th January 1793.

|| To G. Dowdeswell, Esq., from E. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary, Revenue Department, dated Council Chamber, the 29th March 1793.

¶ From Mr. Ogilvie to William Cowper, Esq., President and Members, &c., of the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, dated Midnapore, the 16th August 1793.

** To G. Dowdeswell, Esq., from the Secretary, Revenue Board, dated the 27th August 1793.

†† Extract of a letter from the Governor-General in Council, dated the 23rd August 1793, being enclosure to letter from the Secretary, Revenue Board, to Mr. C. Ogilvie, Collector of Midnapore, dated 27th August 1793.

The foregoing details are but an illustration of the scheme devised and established by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. "In each district, that is in the language of the country, each zillah, and in each of the considerable town or cities, a zillah or city court was established. One of the Company's servants, higher in rank than the Collector, was the Judge.* To this Judge was appointed a registrar and one or more assistants from among the junior servants of the Company."† The business of penal judicature was to be performed by circuit, the Judges of the Court of Circuit for the division of Calcutta holding periodical sessions for the disposal of criminal business in Midnapore.‡

The Judge-Magistrate at this time enjoyed a salary of 29,000 sicca rupees per annum, or Rs. 2,416-10-8 per mensem.§ His register got Rs. 500 per mensem (the sum is noted as Rs. 400 in a different part|| of the records); the Collector got Rs. 1,500; his assistant Rs. 400; his dewan Rs. 150; his sheristadar Rs. 30.¶

For the district of Hijli it was proposed** that the Salt Agent should be relieved of all duties save those appertaining to the manufacture of salt; that the Collector and the Judge-Magistrate of Midnapore should be vested respectively with the charge of the collections of the revenue, and with the preservation of the peace, the charge of the police, and the administration of justice; and that the office of the Collector of the Salt Districts should be abolished from the 15th March 1793.†† Later, however, the Governor-General in Council directed‡‡ that Hijli and Tumlook should be continued under the charge of their respective Salt Agents till the settlement of the districts should be completed, the acquiescence of the proprietors in the settlement to be proposed in 1794 being made a condition of the transfer of the Revenue Department in the Hijli salt districts to the zillah of Midnapore. The proposed transfer was not looked upon as an unmixed benefit by the ryots and zemindars.§§ It appears that they used to pay rents and revenues at the treasury of the 24-Pergunnahs:¶¶ they made objections when they

* Mills' History, volume V, page 353, book VI, chapter V.

† Mills' History, volume V, page 358, book VI, chapter V.

‡ From the Magistrate to Robert Bathurst, Esq., Acting Senior Judge of the Court of Circuit for the division of Calcutta, dated Midnapore, the 6th December 1793.

§ Establishment of the Zillah Adalat of Midnapore, being the enclosure to the letter from the Sub-Secretary to the Revenue Department, dated the 28th March 1793.

|| Statement comprehending all fixed allowances payable by the Collector of zillah Midnapore in the Judicial Department on account of judicial and police establishments on the 30th April 1794, being the enclosure to a letter from the Resident to the Board of Revenue, dated 26th November 1794.

¶ Establishment for the Office of Collector of the District of Midnapore, being the enclosure to a letter from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, dated the 29th March 1793.

* From Lord Cornwallis, Peter Speke, William Cowper, Thomas Graham, to William Cowper, Esq., President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Revenue Department, dated Fort William, the 22nd February 1793, being the enclosure to a letter from John Rawlins, Acting Secretary, Revenue Board, to Mr. W. N. W. Hewett, Salt Agent at Hijli, dated the 27th February 1793.

†† From B. Grindall, Collector, to Mr. W. N. W. Hewett, Agent for the division of Hijli, dated Salt Office, the 27th February 1793.

‡‡ From G. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary, to John Rawlins, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Revenue Department, dated Council Chamber, the 27th September 1793, being the enclosure to a letter from J. Rawlins, Secretary, to Mr. W. Dent, Salt Agent at Tumlook, dated Revenue Board, the 1st October 1793.

§§ From W. N. W. Hewett, Agent, Hijli Division, to William Cowper, Esq., President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Contai, the 19th December 1793.

¶¶ From W. N. W. Hewett, Agent, Hijli Division, to John Rawlins, Esq., Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Contai, the 30th December 1793.

were directed to pay at Midnapore. Mr. Hewett, the Salt Agent of Hijli, explained that in his opinion the principal ground of objection lay in the comparative ease with which they obtained credit in Calcutta, when they wanted such, to facilitate the regular payment of their instalments. The Hijli districts used to pay their revenue with the Hooghly Division. Midnapore, it was said, was four days' journey from Hijli; the transmission of money to Midnapore thence was attended with some risk on the road, and with considerable expense.

It was not till the month of December 1794 that the Salt Agent of Hijli was relieved of the duties of Judge and Magistrate of that district; it was further in contemplation to transfer the exercise of all revenue functions to the Collector of Midnapore. This measure was postponed, however, till such time as Mr. Chapman had completed and adjusted the settlements of the different estates under his charge; till,* in fact, the various zemindars were pleased to signify their assent to the terms of the decennial settlement† proposed for their estates. The‡ charge of the revenue collections in both Hijli and Tumlook was actually ordered§ to be transferred from the Salt Agents of those districts to the Collector of Midnapore from the end of the Wilait year 1203, or September 1796.¶

No further change in the functions of the various officials stationed in Midnapore was made down to 1800. It is not deemed expedient to go further into this subject. What has already been written will enable the reader to form some conception of the several distributions that were made from time to time of the work that devolved on the mofussil civilians of the last century.

FUNCTIONS OF THE RESIDENT.—(Resumed.)

The Resident, during the period extending from 1764 to 1774, exercised an unlimited control over the military stationed or employed in the provinces placed under his authority. It was his duty to cause to be assembled courts-martial for the trial of offending sepoys, and punctuality was required from him in the submission to Government of the reports of the proceedings. All transfers of subaltern officers by the commanding officer were to be notified to, and approved by him, and it was merely the mechanical portion of a soldier's duty with which he did not choose to interfere, and to which he was particular in restricting the officers out on command in the interior, as Mr. Samuel Lewis's letter

* Extract of a letter from the Governor-General, dated the 10th June 1796, being the enclosure to a letter from G. Dowdeswell, Secretary, Revenue Board, to C. Chapman, Esq., Salt Agent at Hijli, dated the 17th June 1796.

† From the Collector to William Cowper, Esq., President, &c., Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated zillah Midnapore, the 30th June 1796.

‡ From J. Champain, A. T. D., to William Cowper, Esq., President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated the 10th July 1796.

§ From C. Chapman, Agent, Hijli Division, to George Dowdeswell, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Contai, the 28th June 1796.

¶ The transfer of the charge of the collections from Tumlook seems to have been really effected, but in Hijli it was apparently not carried out for many years, notwithstanding the unequivocal orders of Government referred to above. In the extract of a letter from the Governor-General in Council, dated 14th October 1796, to the Revenue Board, it is written:—

“In consideration of the circumstances stated by the Agent at Hijli, corroborated by your opinion, we have resolved that the collections be continued under his charge, as at present, and we desire you will accordingly issue the necessary orders for the purpose.”

to Lieutenant Hearsey, commanding at Jellalore, dated 29th November 1773, will show:—"Sir,—Many complaints have been made to me of your interfering with the administration of justice in the pergunnah where you are stationed. As this is deviating widely from the purposes for which you were sent out, I must desire that you will in future confine your attention to the disciplining the sepoys under your command and preventing any encroachment of the Mahrattas."

The following correspondence will show how far the Resident's responsibility extended with regard to the troops at his disposal for securing the tranquillity of his district, and the authority which he thought himself justified in arrogating to himself for the regulation of their conduct, so as to render them as efficient as possible in the assistance they were called upon to afford him. In July 1773 there was a dispute and affray between the sepoys of two battalions that were quartered in Midnapore at the time; one of them having been sent to relieve the other, and unavoidable delay having occurred in the march from the station of the departing battalion, owing to its several detachments not having come in from the different out-stations, some of which were at a considerable distance from head-quarters. The letter acquainting the Government with the occurrence of the affray and the measures taken to punish the ringleaders runs as follows:—

"The charge* of the Government having devolved to you by Mr. Hastings' absence from the Presidency, I take the liberty of acquainting you of an extraordinary occurrence which has happened here this day. A dispute having arisen in the bazar between some sepoys of the two battalions at present here which was likely to be attended with bad consequences, Captain Forbes sent out a party and seized all that were concerned. Those of his own battalion he confined; those belonging to Captain Thompson he sent to him under a guard. As this escort was returning, after having delivered over the prisoners, they were attacked in Captain Thompson's lines by some of his men with swords and bayonets and much wounded. A man of the 12th battalion has likewise suffered in the fray. As these circumstances appear wholly unmilitary, and to require an immediate example, I have ordered a sepoy general court-martial to sit upon the offenders, which I hope will meet with your approbation. It is probable some of each battalion are to blame. As the particulars come to light I shall lay them before you." The result of the proceedings not having been communicated in what the Governor thought a reasonable time, he administered a rebuke to the Resident in the following terms:†—"I am a good deal surprised that I have received no answer from you to my letter of the 21st ultimo, nor any account of the proceedings of the sepoy general court-martial which you had assembled at Midnapore, and which that letter authorized. The urgency of the case and the necessity of immediate example and punishment was my only motive for delegating a limited authority to you in this instance; for I really supposed that judgment must have

* From Samuel Lewis; Resident at Midnapore, to William Aldersey, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 19th July 1773.

† From William Aldersey to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th August 1773.

been passed on many of the delinquents before my letter of confirmation would arrive with you. How such delay would since take place I am totally at a loss to imagine, and I desire that you will immediately write me on the subject.

"It appears equally surprising to me, after the repeated letters you have received from Mr. Hastings and myself concerning the march of the 14th Battalion of sepoys to this place, that you should take upon you to detain it so long at Midnapore. So early as the 10th of June last Mr. Hastings expressly ordered you to call in all detachments from the 14th Battalion, that it might be in readiness to march immediately on the arrival of the 12th. You will be pleased to account to me for deviation from such positive instructions.

"By the late arrangements and alterations in the sepoy corps, it is the intention of Government to preserve the discipline of the brigade sepoys, for which purpose all Collectors with whom they may be stationed are enjoined to disperse them as little as possible, and to make no detachments but under the command of a subaltern officer. If the service should require any small parties to be sent out, they must not be allowed to continue long absent from their corps, but the whole battalion kept as much together as possible. To these instructions I expect that a proper attention will be paid by you." In vindication the Resident* reported:—"I am favoured with your letter of the 14th instant, and am sorry to find I have incurred your displeasure for not making you acquainted with the proceedings of the general court-martial held here. I beg leave to assure you, sir, that my silence on this occasion proceeded from my deeming them too trifling to trouble you with, as, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of the officers, the sepoys who were guilty of using their side-arms could not be discovered, excepting one man, who was himself much wounded. Enclosed you will receive a copy of the proceedings.

"In answer to Mr. Hastings' letter of the 10th June, I represented to him the inconveniences that were likely to arise from withdrawing the detachments then in the jungles without their being relieved by others, which could not be done till the arrival of the 12th Battalion; and from his silence I was led to think he approved of their remaining there. The 12th Battalion did not arrive here till the last day of June, in the evening, when detachments were immediately ordered out. Owing to the great distance of the stations at Haldipukhar and Narsinghar, and the impediments they met with from the swelling of the rivers, Captain Forbes' sepoys did not come until the end of last month, and then in so sickly a condition that they were incapable of marching. As your orders were pressing, and the people recovered very slowly, I provided boats to carry the sick, and the rest are now on their march to Calcutta, where I hope Captain Forbes will shortly present himself to you. Believe me, sir, it is my earnest wish to pay the most implicit obedience to the orders of my superiors, and I flatter myself this account will exculpate me to you for the detention of the 14th Battalion. I shall strictly attend to your orders regarding detachments, and am, with respect, &c., &c."

* From Samuel Lewis to Wm. Aldersey, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 16th August 1773.

In the same month of July the Resident wrote to a Captain George Thompson, then stationed at Midnapore* :—“Lieutenant Hawkins has acquainted me that he has your orders to join the company at Haldipukhar and take on him the command of the detachment there. Orders of this nature are to be issued only by the Chief. I must therefore request in future you will confine yourself to the detail of your battalion. I by no means wish to assume extraordinary authority, nor can I quietly give up what the Governor and Council have thought proper to honor me with.” To which letter the gallant Captain replied,†—“I think I have confined myself to the duty of my battalion in sending Lieutenant Hawkins to join the company at Haldipukhar.

“The Governor and Council have directed that an officer shall be stationed to each company, which will be the case when the absent officers join, and is particularly necessary where a company is separately detached, to keep the men in order and discipline.

“I do not wish to assume any authority further than my duty requires me to answer.”

Again in the ensuing month the Resident wrote to the Captain,‡—“The Subahdar of the Fort Guard has for two days past sent the Jamadar of the Guard to make a report to me, for which he says he has your orders. As I think it proper he should make his report in person, I request you will give the necessary orders.” This letter elicited the following reply,§—“Perhaps you are not acquainted that it is the custom of the army for the Subahdar commanding a guard to send the Jamadar to make a report. The officer commanding a guard never makes any report in person until he is relieved. The guards will be relieved weekly as far as I have men to furnish.

“I paid you the compliment of a return on my arrival; I have duly returned to the commanding officer of the brigade to which this corps is attached and to the Commissary of Musters. If you desire a third you shall have it, so far am I from any attempt to detract from any authority you may possess, though I am sorry to find that you have left me very little.”

One more instance showing the extraordinary control the civil servants of the Company successfully arrogated to themselves, and the feeling of animosity, as the inevitable consequence, that arose between them and the military, will suffice. In 1778 the Resident, Mr. Peiarce, wrote to the Governnmet,||—“As the troops at Midnapore by the late arrangements are upon full batta and stationed for field service, I request to be informed if the command of the Fort and Lascars attached to that garrison is to appertain to me or to the officer commanding those troops, and if the house and bungalows formerly occupied by the captain and subalterns as garrison cantonments are to remain under my charge and direction or under those of the officer commanding the corps encamped

* From Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, to Captain George Thompson, dated 21st July 1773.

† From George Thompson to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Camp Midnapore, the 21st July 1773.

‡ From Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, to Captain George Thompson, dated Midnapore, the 4th August 1773.

§ From George Thompson, to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated the 4th August 1773.

|| From John Peiarce, Resident at Midnapore, to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, and Members of the Council, dated Calcutta, the 30th November 1778.

in the field, Major Ahmuty having taken possession of the house formerly occupied by the captains, and having placed sentries over the other bungalows now unoccupied. If you should deem the command of the troops stationed at Midnapore as unconnected with the command and charge of the Fort houses and zemindari bazars, it will save me some altercation to have your orders to the commanding officer upon the occasion directing him to allot me two companies of sepoys, which I deem would be sufficient to serve as a garrison for the Fort, and to supply guards for my own house, for the public cutcherries, and for the different bazars in the town of Midnapore.

"I request likewise to be informed that in case sepoys or any of the camp followers are found making disturbances in the bazars or in the country, what remedy I am to apply. I remain, with respect, &c., &c."

In consequence of the instructions received in reply from Government, the Resident wrote to the Commanding Officer* :—"As the Governor-General and Council have been pleased to consider the troops stationed here upon field service, and the command of them as entirely unconnected with the command of the garrison, under the supposition that you have not received such intimation, I beg leave to inform you that they have thought proper to order that the fort at Midnapore, with the lascars, &c., attached to it, be under my command, and that the house and bungalows formerly occupied by the captains and subalterns that used to be stationed here be under my charge and directions."

The Commandant accordingly delivered over to Mr. Peiarce the charge of the fort and public buildings, together with the ordnance and stores contained in the fort.

The Midnapore records from 1764 to May 1774 are in a state of almost perfect preservation.

After Mr. Lewis's departure in the latter year, the provision of the investment seems to have been superintended locally, as usual, by the Commercial Resident (Mr. Peiarce); for there are letters, styled factory letters, which follow one another in reasonably quick succession; but no correspondence dealing with the fiscal or general administration of the province for some time after 1774 is found preserved, and it is doubtful whether any ever existed in Midnapore. It is possible, however, that a search amongst the records of the Burdwan district might throw some light on the subject.

When, in April 1777, Mr. John Peiarce was appointed to the charge of the collections of Midnapore and its dependencies, he wrote to Mr. Alexander Higginson, Chief, &c., Members of the Provincial Council of Revenue,† saying that he had taken upon himself the discharge of his functions; and as it appeared that all the books and papers relative to the revenue branch in the districts had been removed to Burdwan, he requested that they might be sent to him as soon as possible. The following letter, however, it appears, had already been written

* From John Peiarce, Resident at Midnapore, to Major Ahmuty, commanding the troops at Midnapore, dated Midnapore, the 8th December 1778.

† From John Peiarce to Mr. Alexander Higginson, Chief, &c., Members of the Provincial Council, Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 19th April 1777.

to him* :—" We have this day received a letter from the Honorable Governor-General and Council of Revenue, acquainting us with their having thought proper to appoint you to fill the vacant seat at this Board, and to give you the temporary charge of the Midnapore collections.

" As we think it will be necessary for you to inspect our proceedings, in order to make yourself acquainted with the present state of the affairs of the Midnapore province, we recommend it to you to take the earliest opportunity of coming to Burdwan for that purpose, as well as to concert with us such further measures as may occur for the future management of the district. In the meantime we enclose you a perwannah to Rajnarayan Ray, directing him to transact the business of the collections under you as acting naib till we are furnished with further instructions from the Board respecting his appointment. Until you inform us of your having received over charge, we shall continue to issue our orders to Rajnarayan Ray."

On the receipt of Mr. Peiarce's letter the Provincial Council wrote† :—" We have received your letter of the 19th instant, and have in consequence ordered our accountant to transmit to you without delay the several books and papers relating to the Midnapore province which were brought to Burdwan by Mr. Lewis on his delivering over charge of the collections in the assembly of the Provincial Council."

It is time now to turn to the actual record of events which more immediately concern the Midnapore and Jellasure provinces. With the aid of the foregoing brief sketch of the nature of the employment in which the Resident used to be engaged, and the responsibilities he was called upon to undertake, it is hoped that the narrative of facts will be better understood, and a more intelligible interest attach to it, than if the reader were required to peruse it without any preliminary preparation.

* From Alexander Higginson, William Marriott, William Pye, and Samuel Charters, to Mr. John Peiarce, Resident, Midnapore, dated Burdwan, the 11th April 1777.

† From Alexander Higginson, William Marriott, William Pye, and Samuel Charters, to Mr. John Peiarce, dated Burdwan, the 25th April 1777.

CHAPTER II.

BOUNDARIES OF THE COMPANY'S JURISDICTION.

Period 1764—1774.—Transfers and annexations introduced in later years.

PRECEDING an account of the historical events, the revenue settlements, the commercial transactions, the statistics, and other similar topics relating to Midnapore in the earliest times of the East India Company's connection with the district, there ought to be given some explanation regarding the tract of country over which the Company's revenue jurisdiction and commercial transactions extended from 1764 to 1774, inclusive; and there should be stated, whenever practicable, with reasonable approximation to accuracy, the points of time at which separate portions of it were acquired. The oldest records forthcoming merely give us to understand that in 1764 the Company were in enjoyment of the land revenue of the two provinces, Midnapore and Jellasure, or, as they were commonly styled in the phraseology of the time, the chaklas of Midnapore and Jellasure. In that part of the country skirted on the east by the rivers Hooghly and Roopnarayan, and bounded on the west by the Subarnrekha, stretching from the sea upwards, besides a few apparently unconnected pergunnahs, were recognized three chaklas, the two mentioned above and Hijli, or, as the word is spelt in the old records, "Ingellee." Over Hijli the Company's servants stationed at Midnapore had, down to 1774 and even later, apparently no authority; though they availed themselves of their position to send troops into the country when they thought by so doing they could keep a watch over, and guard against, possible enemies. A demi-official letter found among the records of 1771, it is presumed, removes all doubt that Hijli formed part of the Hooghly district, where a Mr. Lushington was Resident. The Midnapore Resident wrote:—"Dear Lush.,"*—About a year and a half or two years ago Vansittart took a great deal of pains to accommodate some disputes between the Balshai chaps and some belonging to a pergunnah in Hijli named Metiabhog,† which is contiguous to it. The Fouzdar of Hooghly and he had a meeting at Birkul, and mutual obligations were taken from these people for each other's good behaviour. Beernarain Chowdry has begun these quarrels again; taken Rs. 60 from one Ram Sunder, and demands rents from the Balshai people. This demand and exaction has given rise to a complaint, of which I enclose a copy, and am to

* From Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, to Mr. Lushington.

† This is not a pergunnah, but a village on the sea coast called Metiabhog, within three or four miles, as the crow flies, of the sea-side resort of Chandpur. It is situated altogether in the jalpai (or land formerly reserved for the manufacture of salt) lying on the sea-side of the great sea dyke. Strange to say, the same dispute that existed more than a hundred years ago still prevails, and in the identification and demarkation of the Government jalpai lands for purposes of settlement, the settlement authorities were called upon in 1876 to adjudge to which pergunnah, Kalindi Balshai or Orissa Balshai, certain land said to be in Metiabhog belonged. Kalindi Balshai was and is in Hijli, Orissa Balshai is a permanently settled pergunnah of Midnapore proper.

request that you will send orders that your people are strictly to conform to the engagements entered into, and to let everything remain as it was settled by Vansittart and the Fouzdar, and also that Ram Sunder shall be reimbursed his Rs. 60." If further proof were wanted, it is afforded in a letter purporting to be written in June 1773* "To William Hosea, Esq., Collector of Hooghly. Sir,—This will be delivered to you by Kalicharn, vakil of the zemindars of Amarsi, who have delivered me a petition setting forth that they had made the usual bunds to prevent the water encroaching on their lands, and that the zemindars of the pergunnah of Sujamutta, in your district, have broken them down. I beg leave to refer the complaint to you, and request, if you find it justly grounded, that you will order the bunds to be immediately repaired, as the rains are daily expected, and will entirely overflow the pergunnah if it remains in its present situation."

It is clearly shown in the old records that though the Midnapore Residents lent an ear to complaints from the ryots of the Hijli chakla when the grievances under which they were said to labour proved likely to affect the Company's commercial relations with the country, most notably in the matter of the salt manufacture, they exercised their intervention, if not in the first place at the instance, yet at all events, with the ultimate approval of the Hooghly authorities.

As regards Tumlook (which is now, together with Hijli, included in, and forms a subdivision of, the Midnapore district), there is no evidence to show that the Midnapore authorities had any official control in or before 1774 over the affairs of that pergunnah and its dependencies, which were governed as forming part apparently either of the Hooghly district or of the 24-Pergunnahs;† for even so late as 1783 all the graver criminal offences committed in the Tumlook Division were tried by a court sitting at Chitpore. The transfer of the Dewani having taken place in 1766, the Company would have had no occasion for interference in the affairs of Tumlook till that time, whereas the acquisition of the Midnapore province by the Company took place several years before.‡

The pergunnahs comprised in the Midnapore chakla in 1764 were apparently those mentioned below. From the best information that can be obtained, they were transferred peaceably to the Company by the Mahomedan Government of the country in 1761. On the outer

* From S. Lewis to William Hosea, Esq., Collector of Hooghly, dated Midnapore, the 1st June 1773.

† From Henry Vansittart, Collector of Salt Districts, to William Dent, Agent for the Division of Tumlook, dated Salt Office, the 22nd September 1783.

‡ There is a statement found amongst the records of the old Hijli Salt Agency that Tumlook also was considered a chakla. The Naib Canoongo of Zillah Hijli said:—"The chaklas of Hijli and Tumlook were formerly, in the Government of the Nazims, dependant on Orissa. The revenues were paid to the Subahdar of Cuttack. In the *interim* Taje Khan Musaud Ally Sahab and Sekundur Palwan Sahab, two brothers, subjugated the two chaklas with their own forces, and having got the zemindars into their power confined them. Afterwards they also made themselves masters of about twenty adjoining villages in the chaklas Midnapore and Jellasore, which were under the Subahdar of Cuttack, and having for a long time enjoyed the possession, Taje Khan circulated his own seal and acted as the sovereign, paying no revenue into the Royal Treasury, but disposing of it as he thought proper. After the death of the two brothers, the son and son-in-law of Taje Khan succeeded. Afterwards an army being sent from Delhi, they were both made prisoners, and the country being reduced under the authority of the King, was separated from Orissa and annexed to Bengal; from which time the revenues of the two chaklas have been included with those of Bengal.—Translation of an arzic of Jugmohun Mugmoahdar, Naib of Debnarrain Roy, Sudder Canoongo of Zillah Hijli and Tumlook, forwarded to R. W. Cor, Esq., Accountant, Board of Revenue, Fort William, on the 5th January 1799, by Charles Chapman, Agent, Hijli Division, writing from Contai."

edge of the Company's Midnapore jurisdiction was Bhanjabhum on the north ; to the west Bahadurpur ; lower down Dharinda, Balarampur, Náráyangar or Fatehgar (called also Bomjan), and Khandar. Patas-
pur, which belonged to the Mahrattas, had to be skipped over. Then
came Uttarbehár ; lower down Dantamutta ; then came in succession
Amarsi, Bajarpur, Bhunyamutta, Sabang, Mayanachor, Kashijora,
Kutubpur, and Narajol, as the eye travels on the map from west to
south ; then east ; and finally rests on Bhanjabhum again. As a matter
of course all pergunnahs, such as Shapur, Kedarkund, Kharakpur,
and others, lying within the enclosure bounded by the limits of these
pergunnahs, formed part of the chakla of Midnapore. Even at this
early stage of British connection with the province it was recom-
mended that negotiations should be set on foot with a view to the
transfer of Pataspur to the Company. The river Subarnrekha was
looked upon generally as the limit of the Company's territory on the
west and that of the Mahratta occupations on the east ; but both
parties had acquired lands which were altogether separated by the river
from the bulk of their possessions on the opposite side. On this sub-
ject the two extracts from later records given in the appendix (Nos. I
and II, and dated 2nd and 24th August 1782, respectively,) will be
found interesting. The following extract from a letter written by the
Magistrate of Midnapore in July 1800 is also worthy of perusal.*
“ Towards the south-west quarter of this zillah, but at a considerable
distance from the frontier, lies the pergunnah of Pataspur, belonging
to the Mahrattas, entirely surrounded by the Company's territory.
There are likewise situated between Pataspur and the common bound-
ary, several detached villages, amounting in the whole to about the
same quantity of land as is contained in Pataspur, belonging also to
the Mahrattas. These detached villages are in like manner surrounded
by, and intermixed with, the Company's lands. The most common
and natural limit between this zillah and the Mahratta territory to the
west is the Subarnrekha river ; but while some of the Mahratta lands
lie to the east of the river, some of the Company's lands lie to the
west of it. This state of things is productive of many disputes and
inconveniences. The Mahratta pergunnahs contain a very considerable
number of dacoits—some of them well known as such, others are more
secret. Most of the proprietors of land and of those who possess wealth
or influence in these pergunnahs are either dacoits themselves or con-
nected with dacoits. Some of the persons employed by the Mahratta
Government in the pretended administration of justice or in the collec-
tion of revenue are connected with dacoits and salt smugglers, receive as
the reward of their assistance or connivance considerable contributions,
and in some instances a share of the actual plunder. Dacoits, Chuars,
and plunderers of every description, retire to this territory and occasion-
ally return to commit depredations. Their inducements to reside there
are the facility of pursuing their occupations of pillage and at the same
time evading justice. Hence this part of the Mahratta territory is
much better cultivated than the Company's lands which surround it.

* From H. S. Strachey, Magistrate, to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government
in the Judicial and Revenue Departments, Fort William, dated 31st July 1800.

The lawless and turbulent Mahratta subjects are well protected in their persons and property, while I am conscious of my inability to afford the same protection to the peaceful and industrious inhabitants of this zillah. Criminals of every description, whose aim it is to evade justice, convicts escaped from jail, deserters, persons who have resisted judicial process and who are outlawed, to which may be added insolvent debtors and persons charged with crimes who fear to stand their trial, find an asylum in the heart of the Company's territories. A few weeks ago only a police daroga was charged with corruption, upon which both he and his sureties retired to Pataspur." The Magistrate wrote further that complaints of carrying off cattle from the neighbouring villages were very frequent, and the injured applied to him in vain for redress. A large quantity of salt was manufactured in lands by the Mahrattas, and the whole of it was sold in the Company's territory either to the Salt Agent or smuggled, to the great loss of the revenues of Government. If the Mahrattas could be prevailed upon to cede their lands, by which an uninterrupted line of demarkation would be produced, the police in the south-west of the district would receive more improvement than it was possible to attain by any internal regulation of Government or by any exertions of the Magistrate.

All the Mahratta possessions in Midnapore or the adjoining districts were under the rule of the Balasore Faujdar,* who in turn owed allegiance to the Cuttack Subadar, who received his orders direct from Berar. The Company appear from the earliest times to have had a Resident at Balasore, who in 1788 acted in the capacity of Post-Master, and also as Agent for Mahratta salt, and was one Mr. Wodsworth.†

Before the end of the year 1770, and principally in 1767, were added to the Company's revenue jurisdiction the following pergunnahs, most of which were dependent on the Midnapore zemin-dari (Rani Shiromani's),‡ and for which she paid annually about Rs. 1,300§ by way of revenue:—Digparoi, Jhargram, Kalianpur or Matkudpur, Sankakulia or Lalgar, Ramgar, Phulkusma, Raipur,|| Amainagar, Supur, Chhatna, Manbhoom, Barahabhum, Ghatsila, Jhati-

* From J. Dyneley, Superintendent of the Collections, to Thomas Graham, Esq., President, &c., Committee of Grain, dated 10th April 1784, Midnapore.

† From the Collector to William Wodsworth, Esq., Resident at Balasore, dated Midnapore, the 24th July 1788. From the Collector to Mr. Wodsworth, Balasore, dated Midnapore, the 8th June 1785. From W. Wodsworth, Resident at Balasore, to Cosby Burrowes, Esq., Collector at Midnapore, dated Jellasore, the 20th July 1788. To Mr. Wodsworth, Balasore, from J. Pearce, dated the 8th June 1785. From W. Wodsworth, Post-Master, to John Pearce, Esq., Collector of the Midnapore Division, dated Balasore, the 1st July 1786.

‡ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 30th December 1767.

§ "Before we brought the jungle pergunnahs under our own immediate management, they were rented to the Ranny for Alla Sicca Rs. 1,298-2-3, and so formed a part of the Tushkees stated for Midnapore pergunnah." (To Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, from the Resident, dated Midnapore, the 30th December 1767.)

|| In 1772 Raipur and Phulkusma were said to be in Burdwan. In a letter written by Mr. Bathoe, Collector of Burdwan, on the 14th January 1774, Bogree and Raipur are both said to be in Burdwan, though there can be no doubt that Lieutenant Fergusson settled both Raipur and Phulkusma, and actually collected revenue from these pergunnahs, which was remitted to the Midnapore treasury. *Vide* also letter.

From Charles Stuart to E. Baber, Esq., Chief of Midnapore, dated Burdwan, the 26th November 1772.

bunni or Silda, Jambunni, Baliabera, Chaira or Chiara, Barajit, that part of Kiarchand which went by the name of Kalrui and Naiabasan, Rohini including Moubhandar. A European officer with a small party of sepoys reduced the zemindars of these pergunnahs, not without considerable difficulty, to obedience; and, settling the land revenue immediately with them on very moderate terms, left them in possession. At the same time, without subjugating Patkamb, Singbhoom, and Moharbhaj (the last-mentioned district was under the Mahratta yoke), friendly relations were established with the zemindars, who in some cases expressed a desire to have their country recognized as part of the Company's territory; though it was not thought expedient at the time to do anything that might provoke the Mahrattas into aggressive measures against the English.

Two police-stations, one at Janpur in Baliabera, and the other at Balarampur, four* kos distant from the Ramgar pergunnah, which had apparently existed before 1767, were in that year reorganized and established on a firmer basis for the protection of the newly-acquired territory.

Midnapore in the present day, though other pergunnahs besides those mentioned have been added to it, as the map† of the district, which is subjoined in an appendix to this chapter, will show, has lost many of those which were included in it more than a hundred years ago. Phulkusma, Raipur, Amainagar, Supur, Manbhoom, Barahabhum, belong to Manbhoom, a non-regulation district; Chhatna is included in Bankoora, while Ghatsila is part of another non-regulation district, Singbhoom, which takes its name from the pergunnah so called; and Moharbhaj is one of the tributary mohals dependent on Cuttack.

It is shown in a preceding note that Phulkusma and Raipur, though subjugated by Lieutenant Fergusson, and settled by him about 1767, were in 1772‡ found to be included in Burdwan. Similar transfers and retransfers were constantly made after 1770 with regard to other pergunnahs also. Amongst the most important may be noted the following.

In 1783§ Shamsundarpur, besides Phulkusma and Raipur, was said to be in the Burdwan chakla. In the same year Bogree,|| which had hitherto apparently been considered part of Burdwan, was formed into a separate collectorship presided over by Mr. Thomas Vowler Short.¶

In 1793 Ramgar was the head-quarters of a Magistrate, Mr. William Hunter,** and was in all probability generally conterminous with the present non-regulation district of Purulia. It is likely chakla Pachet was included in Ramgar.

* From the Collector to Lieutenant Broughton, dated Midnapore, the 5th June 1781.

† Vide map, Appendix No. 3.

‡ From Charles Stuart to E. Baber, Esq., Chief of Midnapore, Burdwan, the 26th November 1772.

§ From J. Dyneley, Superintendent of Collections, to John Shore, Esq., Acting President, &c., Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 3rd October 1783.

|| From the Collector to Lieutenant-Colonel Horton Briscoe, Commanding the troops in camp near Midnapore, dated the 13th October 1783.

¶ From Samuel Charters, C. Croftes, John Evelyn, to Mr. John Dyneley at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 13th October 1783.

** From the Magistrate to William Hunter, Esq., Magistrate at Ramgar, dated the 11th June 1793.

In 1795* Bogree was transferred from Burdwan to Midnapore, and paid its revenue thenceforward into the treasury of the latter district.† However, one of its four thanas, Chandrakona, belonged in 1798 to Hooghly.‡ In 1799§ Raipur was said to be in Midnapore, so also apparently was Ramgar,|| thereby leading to an inference that an intermediate retransfer of these pergunnahs had been made. In January or February 1800 pergunnah Chhatna was transferred¶ to Beerbhoom for the better preservation of the peace of the country, but was on the 9th July 1800** reannexed to the Midnapore zillah. In May 1800†† it was said that part of Bogree was in the Collectorate jurisdiction of Burdwan, but under the Magistrate of Midnapore. Again, in the same year‡‡ it was said that Bogree was a jungle mehal, the collections of which belonged to Burdwan. In the end of 1800§§ they were separated from the jurisdiction of the zillah court of Hooghly and annexed to that of Midnapore. "First, that part of Chhatna and of taraf Daspur which lies to the south of the river Roopnarayan taken from the yellow southern boundary mark in Rennell's map, where it crosses the Roopnarayan, and continued along the bank of that river in its northern course till joined by the Sylve river near Ghatal, and thence following the Salai in its southern course till it meets the yellow boundary mark of the Burdwan district adjoining to the boundary of Midnapore. Second the whole of the pergunnah of Brahmanbhum.¶¶ Third, the whole of that part of the pergunnah of Bogree which is now annexed to the zillah of Hooghly, except the nine villages of Hatpankalia, Niz Pankalia, Shushni, Kuarsinghpur, Harisinghpur, Lalpur, Dalmabari, Khagra, Khagra Khurd, and Lalsagar."

Chakla Jellasore, which, together with chakla Midnapore, was under the direction of the Midnapore Resident, in 1770 contained apparently thana Fatehabad, pergunnahs Haveli Jellasore, Bhelorchar, Napochar, chak Ismalpur, Burichar, Sipur, Kurulchar, Agrachar, Turkachar, Kakrajit, Dantunchar, Khatnagar, Tappas Gagneswar, and Kasiari, pergunnahs Narangachar, Rajgarh, Matkudabad, Tappa

* From the Magistrate to Major John Bateman, commanding the troops at Midnapore, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 26th May 1795.

† Extract of a letter from the Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General in Council, dated 20th April 1795, being the enclosure to a letter from G. Dowdeswell to F. Pierard, Esq., Collector Midnapore, dated Revenue Board, the 21st April 1795.

‡ Petition from the Daroga of Bataw, dated the 19th June 1798, being the enclosure to a letter from the Magistrate to H. St. George Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government in the Judicial and Revenue Departments, dated Fort William, the 24th March 1800.

§ To the Board from J. Imhoff, Collector of Midnapore, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 15th January 1799.

|| From J. Mihoff, Acting Magistrate, to Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, commanding the troops at Midnapore, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 26th May 1799.

¶ From H. Strachey, Magistrate, to D. Campbell, Esq., Judge and Magistrate of Zillah Beerbhoom, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 26th March 1800. From T. H. Ernst, Acting Collector, to G. Purling, Esq., Collector of Beerbhoom, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 24th February 1800.

** From T. H. Ernst, Collector, to William Egerton, Esq., Accountant to the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 24th August 1800.

†† From H. Strachey, Magistrate, to Y. Burges, Esq., Acting Collector, Burdwan, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 26th May 1800.

‡‡ From H. Strachey, Magistrate, to H. St. George Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government in the Judicial and Revenue Departments, Fort William, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 18th July 1800.

§§ Extract of a letter from the Register of the Sudder Dewani Adalat, dated 19th November 1800, being the enclosure to a letter from George Dowdeswell, Secretary, Revenue Board, to T. H. Ernst, Esq., Collector of Midnapore, dated Revenue Board, the 6th December 1800.

¶¶ Brahmanbhum was said in 1788 to be in Burdwan. From the Collector, to Robert Goshing, Esq., Resident at Kirpai, dated Midnapore, the 14th July 1789.

Purusuttampur, pergunnahs Birkul, Balshan, Mirgoda, and Kakrachar; the last four being specially useful to the Company for the manufacture of salt.

It may not be out of place to state here with regard to the Jellasure chakla that in 1781* the zemindars and talookdars thereof petitioned to be allowed to pay their rents at Calcutta. The Committee of Revenue appointed Mr. James Chollet, the Assistant at Midnapore, to receive the revenue from the renters of Jellasure, and monthly to transmit his accounts to Mr. Peiarce together with the amount of his collections. It was distinctly explained that Mr. Chollet, in being sent to Jellasure, was not made independent of Mr. Peiarce. Mr. Chollet died in August 1783,† and from that date till June 1784 the business of the collections from the Jellasure district was transacted in Midnapore. In that month Mr. Chauvet, Assistant to the Collector of Midnapore, was appointed Resident at Jellasure. In intimating his appointment, the Committee of Revenue said,‡—"As the prevention of such disputes" (meaning those with the Mahrattas) "as have almost constantly subsisted between the officers and inhabitants of the respective Governments will tend greatly to their mutual ease and prosperity, we are confident that an immediate and active control on the part of our Government will be attended with very beneficial effects, and will obviate innumerable causes of discontent which, under the management and representation of native officers, would be subject to delay and indecision." In a letter to Mr. Chauvet the Committee said,§—"In addition to the duties which were annexed to the charge of your predecessor, the Hon'ble Board have complied with our recommendation that they should now be extended to any correspondence or communication between this Government and that of the Mahrattas on the subject of disputed boundaries and other matters of difference which have often arisen and might eventually arise from the frontier situation of the Company's districts with those of the Mahratta states, and which, from the want of an immediate and active control, have remained undecided. The better to enable you to fulfill these objects of your appointment we herewith transmit you an extract of our correspondence with Mr. Dyneley, and the several proceedings held thereon, in as far as any of the differences stated by Mr. Dyneley still continue to exist. We desire you will immediately proceed to adjust them, and in this or in any future instances you will, if necessary, correspond with the superior officer of the Mahratta Government at Cuttack, or with his deputy at Balasore, transmitting to us regularly such inquiries as may require an ultimate determination of the Hon'ble Board." In July 1786|| Jellasure, under Mr. Chauvet, was

* From the Committee of Revenue to the Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 22nd November 1781.

† From W. C. (apparently William Camac, Mr. Peiarce's Assistant) to J. Shore, dated the 25th August 1783.

‡ From the Committee of Revenue, consisting of S. Charters, John Evelyn, to Mr. John Dyneley, Superintendent of the Collections of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th June 1784.

§ To Mr. John L. Chauvet from the Committee of Revenue, dated Calcutta, the 17th June 1784, being the enclosure to a letter from Samuel Charters and John Evelyn, Revenue Committee, to Mr. John Dyneley, Superintendent of the Collections of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th June 1784.

|| From John Macpherson, John Stables, and Charles Stuart, Revenue Department, to John Stables, Esq., President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Fort William, the 11th July 1786.

converted into a separate and independent collectorship. As the headquarters of a Collector, and separate from Midnapore, it ceased, however, to exist in 1787, in consequence of certain new arrangements of the several Collectorships ordered by the Court of Directors and made by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council,* according to which Mr. Peiarce was appointed to the charge of Midnapore with the addition of Jellasure, which last district the President of the Board of Revenue was pleased to direct Mr. Chauvet to deliver over charge of to Mr. Peiarce as soon as might be convenient.† It is not improbable that before the cession of Midnapore by the Nabob, or during the first few years after the Company's acquisition, the Resident at Balasore‡ took care of the Company's interests in chakla Jellasure, for it appears that sepoy's used to be sent from Balasore as far as Janpur.

In 1780 both the districts of Hijli and Tumlook were converted into salt agencies under Mr. Thomas Calvert and Mr. Archdekin respectively.§ The Hijli Division was to be composed of the two zemindaries of Jallamutta and Majnamutta, or Doro Dubnan, containing 21 pergunnahs, also Sujamutta, Birkul,|| Sabang, Mohar, Kakrachar, Lampray (Nafri) Balshai, Mirgoda, and Mayanachar. The Tumlook Division was to contain the zemindaries of Tumlook, Mysadul, including Gumgar, Terapara, Aranganagar, Kasimnagar, Gumai, and Mandalghat, which last pergunnah was in 1791 said to be in Burdwan,|| the Salt Agent of Tumlook apparently having no connection with the general administration of his salt district, but being responsible for the provision of salt only. The Hijli Salt Agent also had no concern with the internal administration of any other pergunnahs than those contained in the zemindaries of Sujamutta, Jallamutta, and Majnamutta; Birkul, Sabang, and the other pergunnahs of the salt agency, remained under the jurisdiction of the Midnapore authorities,** Mr. Calvert being charged merely with the provision of salt from these pergunnahs and the prevention of the manufacture and disposal of contraband salt in the Midnapore district generally. In 1783†† the revenue management of the four salt pergunnahs of the Jellasure chakla, namely Birkul, Balshai, Mirgoda, and Kakrachar, was transferred from Midnapore to the Salt Agent of

* To Mr. John Peiarce from William Bruere, Secretary, Revenue Department, Council Chamber, the 21st March 1787.

† From J. Shore, Thomas Graham, John Mackenzie, Revenue Board, to Mr. J. L. Chauvet, Collector of Jellasure, dated Calcutta, the 10th April 1787.

‡ From the Resident at Balasore to the Governor-General in Council, dated Balasore, the 24th March 1788.

§ Plan for the provision of salt by agency, being the enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, P. Francis, Edward Wheler, and Eyre Coote, to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 29th September 1780.

|| With regard to Birkul, it may be stated that the pergunnah was formerly, that is before the Company's occupation, said to be dependent on Moharbhaj, and its revenues used to be paid by certain sardars to the Moharbhaj Raja. When they revolted, he established Sagar Rae in the zemindari on the 5th Baisakh of the Orissa year 903, who died on the 11th Chait 928. A genealogical account of the Bhunyahs or zemindars of the pergunnahs of Birkul, Balshai, Mirgoda, and Kakrachar, being the enclosure to a letter from W. N. W. Hewett, Collector, Hijli Division, to Thomas Calvert, Esq., Collector of the Salt Districts, dated Contai, the 15th June 1787.

¶ From Thomas Graham, Charles Chapman, and another, to Mr. C. Burrowes, Collector of Midnapore, dated Revenue Board, the 4th January 1791.

** From Warren Hastings, P. Francis, Edward Wheler, to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th November 1780.

†† From the Revenue Committee, consisting of Samuel Charters and Charles Croites, to Mr. Henry Vansittart, Comptroller of Salt, dated Calcutta, the 17th November 1783.

Hijli, in order that both them manufacture of the salt and the collections of the land revenue might be placed in the same hands and both operations be worked together for their mutual benefit.*

In 1792† Lieutenant Wyatt, who had been entrusted with the construction and repair of the embankments in Hijli, adopted the following classification of the districts comprised therein. Hijli was said to contain twenty-two pergunnahs, which were again classified into eighteen divisions, styled zillahs.‡ These divisions were Balijora, Chowah Gottah, Chakpur, Balshai, Bhograi, Pautberrah, Datto Kharoi, Paharpur, Pataspur, Naruamutta, Erinch, Kasba Hijli, Amirabad, Parbahar, Raipur, Doro Dubnan, Jallamutta, and Sujamutta.

In the appendix§ is given an extract from an Analysis of the Finances of Bengal, &c., delivered in to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, Secret Department, on the 30th June 1787, which, as bearing on the original limits and extent of the Midnapore and Jallasore chaklas, is not unworthy of reference.

It will not be deemed out of place to give the opinion of the Collector|| in 1800 regarding the population of his district, which in that year comprised both the salt agencies of Tumlook and Hijli, at least if the Magistrate's criminal jurisdiction is considered. With a view to taxation, statistics connected with tobacco, pān, and betel, were collected through the zemindari and tehsildari establishments. They based their calculations on the number of shops in the district in which the articles were sold. The number of consumers was computed to be 100,000, exclusive of those in the jungles, where the number could not be ascertained, and where it would not answer to levy a tax. At the rate of three non-consumers to every consumer, the population of the district would amount to 400,000, to which should be added 50,000 for the jungles and about 25,000 more who consumed from their own produce. The population of the district was usually supposed to be about 450,000.¶

Even in 1800** nearly two-thirds of the district consisted of jungle, the greater part of which was uninhabited and inaccessible. Where it was otherwise, and the soil was fit for culture, the want of water, the want of bunds, the extreme disinclination of the lower orders of the natives to settle in the jungles, and of the higher orders to engage in any undertakings attended with expense and risk for the sake of remote advantage, seemed to the Collector insuperable obstacles to any great progress in clearing the jungle.

* From John Dyneley to Thomas Calvert, Esq., Agent for the Hijli Division, dated Midnapore, the 15th December 1783.

† Report, being the enclosure to a letter from Charles Wyatt, Lieutenant, Engineers, to Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, Chief Engineer, Fort William, dated pergunnah of Mysadul, the 19th May 1792.

‡ The partition into zillahs was originally made by Mr. Calvert, the Collector, as well for the better government of the district as to favour a more equal division of the lands.

§ Appendix No. 4.

|| From T. H. Ernst, Collector, to William Cowper, Esq., President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated zillah Midnapore, the 1st August 1800.

¶ It is doubtful whether the district in 1800, for the purposes of the census, contained Hijli as it does in the present day, when the population is ascertained to be 2,540,963, according to the last census. In 1800 the Salt Agent of Hijli was still the Collector of his district.

** From T. H. Ernst, Collector, to George Dowdeswell, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated zillah Midnapore, the 31st October 1800.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL EVENTS.

*Period 1764—1770.**

THE oldest records relating to the affairs of the Midnapore province commence from the 1st March 1764, and consist of letters addressed to the Resident, who was then Mr. Anselm Beaumont. There are no letters written by him of an earlier date than the 11th November 1764. Mr. Beaumont was succeeded by Mr. Hugh Watts† in October of the same year.

In December 1764‡ it was reported that the Mahrattas had taken the field for the purpose of reducing to obedience the zemindars dependent on them. Some of the chuars (plunderers) also, it was said, had begun to be troublesome, and Ensign Davie, with two companies of sepoy, was deputed to proceed to Bussorah, a village on the banks of the Subarnrekha, with the view of forcing them to keep quiet and of enabling Mr. Hugh Watts to draw more than sufficient to defray the expenses of batta and other incidental charges from a part of the country which had hitherto paid only about Rs. 500 yearly, though it contained forty-one villages. About the same time Mr. Watts and the Resident at Balasore§ gave notice of motions being made by the Mahrattas, and a detachment under command of Major Champion was sent from Fort William to check any attempts that might be made to effect an entrance into the Midnapore province. The troops were to be stationed at Jellasore, or at some other equally convenient spot on the frontier. A party of 50 Europeans and 300 sepoy was to be sent to join the detachment when it reached Midnapore, and six companies of the Midnapore battalion also were to be added. Four companies were considered to be sufficient for the purpose of assisting the Resident in collecting the revenues. Mr. Watts was to place himself in communication with Major Champion regarding the measures to be taken to answer the purposes of the party, and to furnish him with supplies, and the latter was in general to be under Mr. Watts' orders.

Before the reader proceeds further in the perusal of these notes, the compiler wishes it to be distinctly understood that he lays no claim to originality either in the information supplied or in the diction employed. Almost every line that follows is copied *verbatim et literatim* from the records; occasionally a few words, which are the compiler's own, are used with a view to give a fitting introduction to a subject. If any credit is to be awarded him for his work, it arises solely from that good fortune which has enabled him to fit in whole sentences extracted from the records in such a way as to dovetail into one another and preserve the continuity of the story. The absence of inverted commas in places does not signify that the compiler is expressing his own ideas or sentiments, or even clothing those of others in his own language. These notes can be verified by a reference to the records themselves, and the reader can never be at fault in assigning what are really his own expressions to the compiler.

† From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, H. Watts, S. Middleton, R. Leicester, and John Burdett, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 25th October 1764.

‡ From H. Watts, Resident at Midnapore, to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, dated Midnapore, the 11th December 1764.

§ From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, R. Leicester, and John Burdett, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 27th December 1764.

Apparently in January 1765* a Mahratta force did approach near the Company's territories, ostensibly with a view to subdue its own zemindars and subjects. However, till it returned to Cuttack no certainty could be made of its intentions: and it was principally for this reason that a detachment was to be stationed in the manner best adapted to prevent the Mahrattas molesting the Company's subjects. Subsequently Captain Hampton, with six companies, joined Major Champion.

In February† the Mahrattas were reported to have returned to Cuttack and manifested no further intention of disturbing the Company's territories, and there appeared no longer any occasion for the continuance of Major Champion's detachment in the Midnapore province. It was accordingly resolved to ease the Company of that expense, and to recall it to Calcutta.

In December 1764 Mr. Vansittart‡ had left for Europe, and the government of the presidency had devolved on Mr. John Spencer, who became President and Governor in Council at Fort William.§

The Nabob, Mir Jaffier, died on the 5th of February 1765,|| and the President, Mr. Spencer, in a letter addressed to Samuel Middleton,¶ Resident at the Durbar, wrote that he was much concerned in this event, and would pay proper respect to the memory of the deceased. He further remarked that it was the interest of the Company as yet to support the family of Mir Jaffier. The officers of the late Government were to carry on the business in the usual manner. It was intended that a Committee of the Board should be appointed to seat a successor on the musnud in a public and proper manner, that he, as well as the whole country, might see that he received his government from the Company. Subsequently, in March 1765,** Nizamud-Dowla's accession to the subahdari of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa was proclaimed in a proper manner at Midnapore. He had acceded to the treaty proposed to him, and was seated in consequence by the Company's deputies on the musnud.††

* From Hugh Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1765.

† From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, J. Burdett, and George Gray, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 28th February 1765.

‡ From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, Warren Hastings, John Johnstone, S. Middleton, R. Leicester, and John Burdett, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 3rd December 1764.

§ Mills' History, volume III, book IV, chapter V, page 253.

Note.—Certain incidents referred to in the Midnapore records, but which belong to general Indian history, are occasionally noticed below. They are but remotely connected with the affairs of the Midnapore province, and are related merely to mark the progress of events occurring in other parts of Bengal simultaneously with the transactions which form the basis of this narrative.

§ From Hugh Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 7th December 1764.

|| From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, R. Leicester, and J. Burdett, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 8th February 1765.

¶ From J. Spencer to Samuel Middleton, Esq., Resident at the Durbar, dated Fort William, the 8th February 1765.

** From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 9th March 1765.

†† From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, J. Burdett, and George Gray, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 6th March 1765.

In May 1765* Lord Clive arrived and took upon himself the government of the presidency. The intention of the general Court in desiring Lord Clive to go to Bengal was that by his Lordship's character and influence peace and tranquillity might be the easier restored and established in that subahship.† A committee, consisting of his Lordship, Mr. William Brightwell Sumner, Brigadier General Carnac, Messrs. Harry Verelst, and Francis Sykes, was appointed with full powers to pursue whatever measures it might judge most proper to secure peace and tranquillity, after which it should cease to exist.

It is incidentally mentioned in the records that the war with Shuja-ud-Dowla was brought to a termination in September 1765, and a treaty of peace was executed with him.‡

In October 1765§ Mr. Graham was ordered to take charge of the Midnapore factory from Mr. Watts, the transfer actually taking place on the 1st December.||

In March 1766 ¶ a measure was resolved upon by the Government which entailed upon the Company the necessity of sending an expedition into the country to the west of Midnapore, that is the reduction of the zemindars to the westward, and the capture and entire demolition of their forts, except such as might be thought necessary for the protection of the country. Such of the zemindars as might readily submit and engage for the regular payment of their revenues, agreeably to the custom of those parts of the provinces, were to be continued; those that did not were to be entirely routed, and other persons appointed to the charge of their zemindaries. The detachment previously stationed at Midnapore had been sent to Burdwan,** but was recalled. However, owing to the scarcity of sepoys at the latter place, the expedition against the jungle zemindars, as they were called, was deferred till the cessation of the rains of 1766.

In April 1766†† Lord Clive left Calcutta, Mr. Verelst apparently succeeding to the vacant chair.

On the 8th May‡‡ the Nabob Nazimud-Dowla died, and his brother, Syf-ud-Dowla, succeeded him in the Subahdari, and was seated on the musnud on the 19th.

* From Lord Clive, C. S. Playdell, Francis Sykes, R. Leycester, J. Burdett, and George Gray, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 3rd May 1765. Mills' History, volume III, book IV, chapter VII, page 275.

† Extract from the Hon'ble Company's general letter to Fort William, dated the 1st June 1764, being enclosure to a letter from Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, and Francis Sykes, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 15th May 1765.

‡ From Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, Francis Sykes, and R. Leycester, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th September 1765.

§ From Hugh Watts to the Right Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 10th October 1765.

|| From J. Graham to the Right Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 3rd December 1765.

¶ From H. Verelst to Mr. J. Graham, at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th March 1766.

** From H. Verelst to Mr. J. Graham, dated Calcutta, the 10th April 1766.

†† From H. Verelst to Mr. J. Graham, dated Calcutta, the 10th April 1766.

Mills' History, volume III, book IV, chapter VII, page 296.

‡‡ From W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 22nd May 1766.

EXPEDITION INTO THE JUNGLE MEHALS.

In January 1767, in pursuance of intentions already described, the first steps were taken to subjugate and settle the country to the westward of Midnapore,* which was said to be a very large tract comprehended within the limits of the province, but of which the zemindars, taking advantage of their situation, had supported themselves in a kind of independence since the time of the Mahratta troubles during Alivardi Khan's Government. It was remarked that 150 years before the period concerning which these notes are compiled, Todel Mull had been sent by the Court of Delhi to take an account of the subas in that part of Bengal which included Midnapore. "The continuance of the independence of the zemindars," Mr. Graham† said, "is judged to be highly unsuitable in the present respectable situation of our Government, and is also thought to obstruct a commercial intercourse which used heretofore to subsist between the Bengal provinces and the districts to the westward of the hills. The party which you are appointed to the command of is destined, therefore, to proceed against those zemindars with a view to reduce them to a proper subjection to our Government and payment of a just revenue, to enforce their obedience to the authority of the Resident of Midnapore, and to encourage, if possible, the merchants of the western districts to open again their wonted communication with these provinces.

"Your several indents have been duly complied with; and as the party has been prepared under your own direction, I make no doubt but that it is now completed with every necessary article.

"From the best information that I could collect here, I have formed a statement of the situation of the several districts against which the operations are intended; and I have also, with the same assistance, laid down a route which is thought the best calculated for proceeding against them. Copies of these papers I herewith deliver you for your guidance, so far as you shall find them confirmed by your intelligence or experience on the spot; but whenever these shall render it eligible to deviate from them, you are entirely at your own discretion to do so.

"Such of the zemindars as readily and willingly demean themselves to our Government, and give security for the payment of an equitable revenue and their future good conduct, it is intended shall be continued in their possessions; and many of them, I am told, will shew a very early disposition to comply with these terms. I propose, therefore, to accompany the party myself the length of the thana of Balarampur,‡ where I will receive the submission of those who may be thus well disposed, and settle with them the rents that they are in future to pay. All the instructions that I can give you in the business of adjustment you will have an opportunity by this means of receiving; and after I leave the party, I will detach with you a person who is well versed in the revenue branch, by whose advice and your own judgment you will be guided in all further adjustments that it may be necessary to make. In general I beg leave to remark to you that as it is more the intention

* From the Resident to Francis Sykes, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 25th June 1767.

† From J. Graham to Ensign John Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 30th January 1767.

‡ Balarampur was situated a few miles from the confines of the pergunnah of Raingar.

of our Government effectually to secure the zemindars' submission than to make a temporary advantage of it, I think that end will be best accomplished by settling the payment of an equitable rent and claiming from them one of their nearest relations to reside by way of hostage at Midnapore, at least for the first twelve months.

"Such of the zemindars as, through folly or obstinacy, shall persist in refusing their submission and attempt opposition to your party, you will of course proceed against in a hostile manner, and, employing all advantages that your intelligence or other circumstances may afford you, endeavour to expel them from their dominions. This once effected, the next step, if practicable, will be to appoint other persons to their zemindari; and if ever such case should occur, you must immediately advise the Resident of Midnapore, with whom the choice to such appointments is lodged. But if you apprehend the situation of the districts to be such that another person could not maintain himself in them without a force of ours constantly to support him, it will then remain with you as well to inflict a punishment for the obstinacy and rebellion of the present incumbents as to render them incapable of creating further disturbance in time to come; the former by giving the personal property and possessions of such zemindars and their head people up to plunder, the latter by destroying as much as possible their refuges and strongholds.

"Unless, however, where the necessity of your duty requires this tenor of conduct, you will please to be peculiarly watchful that no plunder or ravage is committed by your men; but that, on the contrary, the strictest lenity and moderation be observed, and every encouragement given to the country people that you imagine can tend to ingratiate their affections towards our Government.

"The opposition that you may meet with I imagine will be very trifling: indeed the only risk, in my opinion, to be apprehended is from treachery or surprise, surrounded, as you will almost constantly be, with thick woods. This renders it necessary that you should be always upon your guard. Proceed with the greatest caution, and be particularly attentive in the choice of your encampments. The zemindars of Dharinda and Korangur* will attend you with a parcel of their black troops, and these you may employ in scouring the skirts of the road to prevent your suffering by any ambush or alarm.

"A bazar furnished with every necessary is ordered to attend you, and, exclusive thereof, I have loaded 50 bullocks with provisions from the Company's stores. These are meant as a resource should your bazar at any time prove deficient or incapable of supplying you; they are therefore only to be used in case of such emergency, when the bazar-men must be made accountable for what is expended.

"The whole service you have to perform may occupy, I should suppose, about the space of two months; but it may be highly eligible to fix on a central spot to encamp your party for some time longer, in order to awe the zemindars into a strict observance of their

* Korangur, or, more properly spelt, Karnagar, was the seat of the zemindar within the limits of whose estate the Midnapore factory lay.

engagements. On this and every other subject you are to keep up a close correspondence with me or the Resident at Midnapore for the time being, whose orders you are in every respect to follow, and if anything should occur which you think worthy the attention of the Governor of Calcutta, it will be proper on such occasions that you address him also.

"I have only further to recommend to you to keep a journal of your proceedings, and, if possible, to form a chart of the marches you make. I heartily wish you success."

Subsequently Mr. Graham was obliged to forego his intention of accompanying the party under Mr. Fergusson, for he was transferred to Burdwan as Resident of that place. He wrote to Mr. Fergusson:— "As I find* that my appointment to Burdwan and the business which I have to settle here before my departure will not admit of my absence from the factory for a space of time sufficient to render the service expected from my accompanying your party, I am obliged to set aside that intention, and you will therefore proceed without further delay.

"To assist you in adjusting with those zemindars who may be disposed to submit to our Government without giving trouble, I have ordered two persons, Cartickram and Chundnun Goss, to attend you. The latter is an intelligent man in the revenue business in general, the former is particularly acquainted with the families and possessions of the jungle zemindars, and will therefore be able, I should imagine, to render essential service.

"As soon as you arrive at the thana of Balarampur, you should issue orders summoning the whole to come in and pay their submission, and then halt six, eight, or ten days, according as you see a prospect of these orders being productive of success. After that time, I would not wish you, without very good reasons occur, to protract your stay at Balarampur, but to proceed without further delay to the reduction of each zemindar separately who refuses compliance. I shall expect to hear from you frequently, and I shall always be ready to give you every assistance in my power as to the business of adjustment."

When these instructions† were laid before the Governor, who was the Hon'ble Harry Verelst (Lord Clive had left town on the 26th January 1767 for England in the ship *Britannia* on account of his ill-health, and was succeeded by Mr. Verelst‡), he thought that the admitting§ of plunder even in the justifiable case above mentioned might be productive of disorders among the people under Mr. Fergusson, and detriment to the service in view. The offending clause of the instructions issued before was therefore superseded, and instead of plundering the personal property and possessions of the rebellious zemindars, it was ordered that everything on such occasions was to be seized and sent into Midnapore. If after Mr. Fergusson's return he should report the sepoy to be deserving of a reward, all the effects collected should be distributed amongst them.

* From the Resident to Ensign John Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 1st February 1767.

† From the Resident to Ensign John Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 3rd February 1767.

‡ From Henry Verelst, Smith, Sykes, Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall, and Campbell, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd February 1767.

§ From the Resident to Ensign John Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 3rd February 1767.

Mr. Fergusson accordingly set out with three or four companies of sepoy and a European sergeant or two. On* reaching the Kalianpur pergunnah the zemindar acknowledged his dependence on Midnapore. He used to pay a trifling tribute at the "cutcherry" annually, but as that sum, about Rs. 30, was deemed by no means adequate to the produce of his pergunnah, it was thought that the present opportunity should not be let slip of settling with him a proper equivalent. The Phulkusma zemindar was to have a demand made on him for the amount of a robbery at Anandpur, which was proved to have been committed recently by his people.

The Jhargram zemindar proved contumacious. Mr. Fergusson proceeded against his fort, which he took; and Mr. Graham† observed,— "I beg leave to congratulate you on your success against the fort of the Jhargram zemindar. The whole tenor of your progress thither meets with my entire approbation, although I confess I could have wished that your success had been the result of a more decisive stroke, for the zemindar's having been able to effect his escape without suffering any defeat will, I am afraid, serve to embarrass our operations. It will be impossible from so small a party as yours to leave a garrison in every fort that you may be obliged to reduce, and to leave them without one would just be undoing what it may have cost you trouble to do; for there is no kind of doubt that the runaways would immediately return to possession. My sentiments, then, on the present case, in addition to the general plan of your instructions, take as follows:—

"The obstinacy or folly of this man has obliged you to proceed hostilely against him; and to make him the first example of the superiority of our arms, let us also, if possible, make him the first example of our lenity and moderation, with a view of engaging others to a cheerful submission and allegiance to our Government. For this purpose I would recommend you to write him a letter yourself, setting before him the folly and absurdity of his conduct, and the ill consequences which they have been productive of to himself and his affairs; that to convince him, however, that your original intentions were only to enforce his submission and obedience to his proper Government, you still invite him to return in full security of protection, provided he is disposed to execute reasonable terms for the rents of his country and his future good conduct; that to consider of and embrace this overture you will allow him a limited time (suppose 24 hours), after which space, if he still stands out, that measures will unquestionably be taken for his total expulsion from his zemindari, and no subsequent advances on his part will be received or listened to.

"Unless the man is a great fool indeed I think he will not let this last resource escape him; but if he should, you must then proceed to establish another person in his zemindari. The most proper candidates I can suggest are the four that are with you, Siteram Cawn (by his proxy, Govindram), Cartickram, Gopinaut, and Kogunaut Gugindar; and I leave it to you to fix the choice on the one who you judge will be

* From the Resident to Ensign John Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 4th February 1767.

† From the Resident to Ensign John Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1767.

best capable of supporting himself in possession, and offer the best terms for the Company.

"One of these methods I think must unquestionably take place, and I will therefore at present avoid saying anything on the last disagreeable necessity of demolishing his fort and laying waste his villages.

"As to the effects which you have seized, if the zemindar returns I would wish them restored to him, and you may engage him to make in lieu some consideration to the captors; but if the zemindari is given to another, that person can have no such claim, and you will in such case dispose of what you please to your bazar, and, if possible, find means to transport the rest to Bahadurpur, from whence I will bring it in here. In future cases where this, from the distance, cannot be done, you must make a regular sale in your own camp in the manner you propose.

"After finishing affairs at this Jhargram, I would recommend to you to proceed immediately to Balarampur, to take advantage of this example for bringing the rest of the zemindars in, and that, if possible, without acting further offensively."

Having* become conscious of what he had to expect if he proved further unsubmissive, the Jhargram zemindar offered a compromise, and a sum apparently "in the light of a purchase for his independence afresh." This, however, could not be; for the sum to be paid to the Company was to become an established annual revenue, was to be paid monthly at the cutcherry of Midnapore, and a tashkhis paper was to be executed accordingly. Security was accepted from the zemindar and his fort restored to him. The sepoys had behaved with so much good order in the midst of plunder (the greatest temptation that can be thrown in a soldier's way) that they were to be given a consideration, which was to be a reasonable one without the risk of making them, too rich. It was remarked that unless where the sepoys acted offensively they could have no claim to be considered.

The zemindar of Ghatsila† proved a more obstinate opponent than his brother of Jhargram. He posted troops in all the avenues and inlets to his pergunnah, and was determined not to admit a Feringhi into his country on any account.

Mr. Fergusson‡ was more successful with the zemindars of Ramgar, Sankakulia or Lalgur, Jamboni, and Jhatibunni or Silda. They came in and settled for the payment of an adequate yearly revenue from their estates to the Company.

Mr. Graham§ expressed his entire approbation of the adjustment which Mr. Fergusson had made. If a continuance, he said, of the same success attended Mr. Fergusson's operations and negotiations, the whole of the expedition would terminate greatly both to his own and Mr. Graham's credit. He advised that ulterior measures should be taken against the Ghatsila zemindar.

* From the Resident to Lieutenant Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 9th February 1787.

† From John Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated thana of Balarampur, the 14th February 1787.

‡ From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Balarampur thana, the 14th February 1787.

§ From the Resident to Lieutenant Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 16th February 1787.

There can be no doubt that the zemindars had hitherto been treated with great moderation and indulgence, and it is questionable, if their means are considered, whether this was not the safest and wisest policy. For the country wore a very poor appearance,* and from the oppression of the former Collector many were really in no condition to pay a considerable revenue; and those that were, had wherewithal to prevent the intelligence coming to the ears of the officials so as to enable Mr. Fergusson to make a proper adjustment. Mr. Fergusson was daily convinced from experience that though some expense would be incurred, the only method of reducing the country to the yielding of an adequate and orderly revenue was to station a force in a central place, where, by awing the whole, every individual would enjoy his own, and where, by further acquaintance with the people and country, a just notion could be formed in what estimation it might be held. In this way also a sure beginning to the other intended purpose of re-opening the trade, with such security as must of course make it flourish, would be obtained. On inquiry Mr. Fergusson found that the country was not barren of a fund for commerce; for he understood that there was abundance of iron, wax, oil, dammer, buffaloes, besides the capital article of timber. Could the people but be convinced that by trading in these articles and by tilling their lands they would benefit themselves more and lead a happier life than by addicting themselves to theft and robbery, as they were doing, the point desired would be gained in its utmost latitude.

In the meantime the old zemindar of Jhargram died, and his sons tendered their submission.†

Hitherto Mr. Fergusson had confined himself within the limits of the Midnapore district as they are now recognized. His further progress was towards the north-west; and he recommended, in order effectually to settle the revenues of Amainagar, Supur, Manbhoom, Chhatna, and Barahabhum, which all lay within the jurisdiction of thana Balarampur, and by the best accounts that could be procured were at least some of them richer and more extensive, comparatively speaking, than what had been seen, that even if the zemindars should agree to attend him at Balarampur and settle, an advance ought to be made into a central place in the midst of them, with a view to make them immediately acquiesce in reasonable terms. From the situation of the pergunnahs of Raipur and Phulkusma, the zemindars of those places ought to have paid their revenue at Balarampur; the tehsil was said to be trifling, whereas they could afford a pretty considerable one; they could have yielded annually to the Company no less than 3,000 Alla Sicca rupees.

Mr. Graham concurred with Mr. Fergusson‡ in believing that it was expedient to march to a situation nearer the five pergunnahs and to bring the zemindars to a speedy settlement, otherwise they might relax from the good disposition they professed to be in, and occasion fresh trouble to induce them to a proper way of thinking.

* From John Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated Balarampur thana, the 14th February 1767.

† From John Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated Balarampur thana, the 16th February 1767.

‡ From the Resident to Lieutenant Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 15th February 1767.

The zemindars of Raipur and Phulkusma, Mr. Graham explained, were dependent on the Burdwan province, though they had taken advantage of their situation to avoid making their submission and paying an equitable rent, and therefore Mr. Graham said that the opportunity which offered of bringing them to a settlement should certainly be employed; afterwards it might be determined whether the collections should continue to be made under the thana of Balarampur. After disposing of the five zemindars, Mr. Fergusson was to pursue his route to the thana of Janpur, and thence as expeditiously as possible against the zemindar of Ghatsila, who was apparently preparing for war. Mr. Graham finally remarked that if a first payment of money from all those who had been settled with could be sent in, it would carry an appearance favourable to the plan.

The five zemindars being summoned to attend Mr. Fergusson those of Supur and Manbhoom sent vakils, with whom he had interviews, but without any satisfactory result. He at once expressed his intention to start from Balarampur immediately and to approach nearer to their possessions, that he might settle with them peaceably, if possible, and if that course would not answer, by force as the last resource. Mr. Graham suspected that Mr. Fergusson† found as he proceeded farther westward that the zemindars were neither quite so tractable nor civilized as those who lived nearer the thana, but he recommended him to lose no time in bringing or reducing them to terms. Their fears seldom failed to be operated upon with success, but to leave them time to see that themselves, was generally known to produce in them a degree of imperiousness, self-sufficiency, and obstinacy. In‡ proof of these words, as it were, the Amainagar zemindar said that he was willing to submit, but that he could not do much on account of his country having been plundered and some villages burnt on the one hand by Damudar Singh (a freebooter, to capture whom a party of sepoys was despatched from Bishnupur, in Burdwan,) and by the Company's troops on the other. The Barahabhum zemindar intended also to submit, but a company of sepoys in the Chhatna zemindari, acting on behalf of the Pachet Raja, had committed such violence—at least had occasioned such a terror—that zemindar and all had run into the jungles. Mr. Fergusson deprecated the despatch of additional troops into the west of the district, because, he said, “there is no occasion to send any other force into this part of the Midnapore province;§ for if there are troops at pleasure sent among these people, though the discipline is never so strict, I can foresee that the business of collecting the revenues will be tedious, for they only want such a plausible excuse to turn it to the best account on one hand, and on the other they are really so terrified in these cases that it entirely interrupts their family business for the time.”

Mr. Fergusson, in pursuance of his mission, marched to Supur. He found as he marched that the Raipur pergunnah was by far

* From John Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated Balarampur thana, the 19th February 1767.

† From the Resident to Lieutenant Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 25th February 1767.

‡ From John Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated Balarampur thana, the 19th February 1767.

§ From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Balarampur thana, the 19th February 1767.

the best cultivated that he had yet seen in the jungles; in that part of it through which he passed there was a vast number of cotton-trees.* The five western zemindars came in and settled in the same manner as the preceding ones, and Mr. Fergusson said in writing to the Resident,—† “If you consider the circumstances of my finding every individual of them, with all their people and effects, in the jungles, I am hopeful it will reconcile my conduct to you, whether you regard the time and manner or the settlement itself; for had I pursued them it would not probably have answered the end. To have pursued each separately would have been a work of time; and to have divided my force would have rendered my success doubtful, as none of these zemindars, by our best intelligence, have less than 2,000 people in their pergunnahs whose trade is war.” He added that some among them were not cordial, and unless a force remained in their neighbourhood to awe them, collecting the revenue from them would be a hard task.

Eventually, Mr. Fergusson was completely successful in his operation towards the extreme west.‡ He had already promised to send in a few days the Falgun month’s revenue from the five zemindars whose subjugation has been described. He had constituted a thanadar and navisanda of Balarampur to collect the revenues while he was absent still farther to the westward; and in March he sent to Mr. Graham§ Rs. 1,000, of which Rs. 550 were in cash and Rs. 450 in bonds, being part only of the Company’s treasure collected from those zemindars who had already settled with him to pay a tashkhis for their pergunnahs. He joined with Mr. Graham in opinion,—|| “If we continue to awe and protect these people the revenue may be considerably increased; and, if I may be allowed to judge from the face of the country and appearance of the people, very considerably too, were they somewhat civilized, and this more particularly in the western pergunnahs.”

The revenues ¶ which the zemindars had engaged to pay exceeded the sums at which their countries had been rated in the King’s books. The adjustment was perfectly satisfactory; at the same time by attending to keep them at once awed and protected, the Resident hoped that the stipulation might be considerably increased upon.

With regard to the two pergunnahs of Raipur and Phulkusma,** which paid Rs. 1,600 yearly into the Burdwan treasury “through the hands of Y^c. Bogreewala,” it was said that the money was very ill collected. The tract lay near the Balarampur thana, and the tashkhis (which could easily be increased to 3,000 Alla Sicca, as explained before,) could also be collected without difficulty, supposing a force were to remain there. Lieutenant Fergusson had got all the people together in order to increase the yearly revenue for the Company, but for the present he took no active measures, being compelled by circumstances to retrace

* From John Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated Camp, near Supur, the 22nd February 1767.

† From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., Chief of Midnapore, dated Maubhoom, the 6th March 1767.

‡ From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Balarampur thana, the 19th February, 1767.

§ From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Balarampur thana, the 13th March 1767.

|| From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated thana Balarampur, the 14th March 1767.

¶ From the Resident to Lieutenant Fergusson, dated Midnapore, the 12th March 1767.

** From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated 12th March 1767.

his steps and proceed against the rebellious Ghatsila zemindar, the most powerful of the opponents he had hitherto encountered. From* time to time accounts had been received of the preparations he was making to resist Mr. Fergusson in case he ventured into his territory, such as breaking the road, barricading all narrow passes by felling trees, though Mr. Fergusson still considered that, like the rest, he would submit without striking a blow. There was a circumstance that perhaps led Mr. Fergusson into such a belief. A† breach existed between the zemindar and his nephew and heir, whom he had driven from his territories, and who resided with another zemindar. It was Mr. Fergusson's intention to make this breach of use in saving his brave fellows, as he called his sepoys, from the risk of an engagement with the people. He contemplated setting up the nephew against the zemindar, and thus enlisting the sympathies of the people, whom the existing zemindar's suspicious and distrustful temper had alienated to such a degree as to induce him to shut himself in a strong house within his fort lest he should be murdered. Damudar Singh, the rebel to whom allusion has already been made, had also joined the Ghatsila zemindar, together with some other petty princes in his neighbourhood.

In March 1767,‡ before leaving the neighbourhood of the Balarampur thana, Mr. Fergusson sent two messengers to the Ghatsila zemindar, calling upon him for the last time to acknowledge allegiance to the Company. They were stopped on the way by 150 bowmen, and were informed that if they proceeded along the Janpur road they would not be obstructed, but that no one would be allowed to go into their country by the Jambunni road. There was no alternative left now but to subdue the rebel zemindar by force. Accordingly§ the Kalianpur, Jambunni, and Jhatibunni zemindars, with their followers, horse and foot, the latter numbering several hundreds, attended Mr. Fergusson at Jambunni with a view to aid him in punishing the Ghatsila zemindar. They were his natural enemies, and of long standing, and they showed themselves eager to take this opportunity of gratifying their revenge. His nephew, who resided at Barahabhum, could give, or would give, Mr. Fergusson no assistance.

The march to Ghatsila|| commenced about the middle of March. On his way, eleven kos from the Ghatsila fort, Mr. Fergusson learnt that 2,000 men had entrenched themselves and made a parapet of "palisades" in a plain about three kos from Jambunni, having the channel of a nullah and jungle in their rear. He said,—“Having resolved last night to attack their force at break of day if possible, I set out at one o'clock in the morning, resolving to march slowly and circumspectly, it being very clear moonlight; but such were the length of these cosses, and such the badness of the roads, having all of them in this pergunnah to make as we marched, and also two considerable nullahs to pass,

* From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Balarampur thana, the 16th February 1767.

† From John Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated Balarampur thana, the 19th February 1767.

‡ From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated thana Balarampur, the 13th March 1767.

§ From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Jambunni, the 17th March 1767.

|| From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Camp, a large plain near Bind village, the 18th March 1767.

which they only abandoned as we approached, that instead of arriving at daylight, we were only able to reach this thana of his at 10 o'clock. Finding, however, my troops, &c., fresh and in good spirits, I resolved to storm. The enemy soon abandoned their post and betook themselves into the channel of the nullah, with a view, I believe, of flanking us in the storm. But we were guarded against this, as well as against an ambuscade which they had layed on the banks of a tank to the left of the rear; for having examined the ground on all sides before the onset, I resolved to divide my force in such manner as to attack them in these three places at once, which I accordingly did; and my forces drove the enemy before them clear out of the jungle and over a large plain into the village of Bind, where about 200 of them endeavoured to make a stand to no purpose. With regard to my troops, I must say the sepoys behaved very bravely, but not like disciplined troops; for that party which I sent under the command of Serjeant Bascombe to storm the nullah in the jungle broke at once and ran in without keeping any order, and it was with much difficulty I could keep the small party with myself and with the guns from running after the rest into the jungle when they found there was nothing to do in the intrenchments, which were abandoned.

"Mogul Roy* has got a great name among the sepoys. The number of the slain on the enemy's side I have not been able to learn, it being in the jungle the execution was done; but three heads have been found that the guns had shot off, but of my men there is not one so much as hurt, not even a provincial.

"With my best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and family, and compliments to the gentlemen, with real regard and esteem, I am, dear sir, your earnest well-wisher and most obliged, humble servant, J. Fergusson, who has an immense headache, so hopes inaccuracies will be excused."

The next day Mr. Fergusson marched about three-quarters of a kos from Bind uninterruptedly, but he remarked,—“On arriving at the village of Mindalockuna intelligence† arrived from the front that the jungle in the front of the village was spread over with chewars, on which I halted a little and ordered one gun and a small party of sepoys to advance, disposing the whole in such a manner as to be able to support that party or to detach to the rear or flanks, according as the enemy might make their appearance. On seven rounds of grape and two or three platoons from the sepoys they retired, having indeed first endeavoured to alarm us on all sides, but to no purpose, as their shot from the jungle would not reach, and they would not come in sight. During this short skirmish, one sepoy received a shot through the muscles of the thigh. Finding the enemy determined not to maintain any battle with us, I immediately disposed my troops to maintain a running fight and march pretty smartly; at the same time, by strengthening my rear, ordering 20 sepoys on each flank and endeavouring, but to no great purpose, to flank the whole with my provincials. However, we succeeded very well in keeping the enemy so much at bay that they

* The zemindar of Jhatibunni.

† From J. Fergusson to Mr. Graham, dated Camp, Choukla, the 19th March 1787.

were not able to make any impression on any quarter, though they repeatedly attempted it, especially in the rear. They indeed wounded five or six chawars and camp adherents on our side, and a fine old fellow of a horseman of Govind Ram's had his leg broke by a matchlock ball, which I have set again, and I hope will do well, though the doctor will say that a gun-shot wound and fracture is a very difficult case. Thus we maintained our way for three cosses, when we arrived at a very large plain, well watered, near a village named Choukla, where I had before planned to halt, as there was no other halting place within five cosses. Here we have the enemy alongside of us in the jungle, but they dare not come out, though we have distressed them greatly by taking possession of four or five tanks in this plain, and guarding them in such a manner that they cannot get a drop of water but at the hazard of their lives, as it is the only water within three cosses by my intelligence. To-morrow I propose marching in the same manner, by which we will be on the way half the day, it being five jungle cosses. With my best wishes for Mrs. Graham and children, and compliments, as usual, I am, with real regard and esteem, &c."

On the 22nd March 1767 Mr. Fergusson wrote from Ghatsila,*—
 "I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that I am in possession of Ghatsila fort, after having fought my way to it for 16 cosses through a thick jungle, where the enemy took every method of interrupting our march except that of a drawn battle, which they only attempted in their intrenchments near the village of Pura, about 14 cosses from Jambunni the first day that we attacked them, from their strong intrenchment there and from the channel of a nullah in the jungle to the rear of it; we soon drove them, and on all the march hither they never attempted to make a stand in other place until a day as we approached their fort.

"During the march I soon saw that if we halted always on their approach that our march would be greatly interrupted and tedious. I therefore resolved to strengthen my front and rear considerably, and flank the whole on each side, and to march on without ever halting, leaving to these guards to maintain the engagement with the enemy and proceed at the same time, taking care to reinforce them if pressed hard from the main body, and I believe I owe my success to that resolution.

"Yesterday a vakeel arrived from him, who said he was sent to make the Rajah's acknowledgment and settle for the country. On questioning him, I found he was empowered to give Rs. 5,000 to buy me and my army off from proceeding any further. This not being my business, I explained to him for what purpose I was come, and told him that if his zemindar would pay the Company such a yearly revenue that I would forgive him notwithstanding his great fault. He immediately despatched people to the zemindar, who returned no answer, and accordingly we proceeded. On this day's march they fought very warmly, showing themselves a good deal, first in front and then in the rear, but were not able to make any impression. About nine o'clock we made his fort,

* From John Fergusson to J. Graham, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 22nd March 1767.

which we found in flames, and his people all round in small parties in the jungle on the outside ready to attack us in the rear; but finding that we discovered them by a gun, and a company being sent against them, the people within abandoned the fort by a gate to which I judged it imprudent to send any part of my forces, as the smoke of the fire blew directly on it.

"Notwithstanding that the fire had destroyed the most valuable things, of which there must have been an immense quantity, yet we arrived time enough to save a great quantity of grain, which gives me great satisfaction, as otherwise we should have been in distress soon for want of provisions, as they burned their villages as well as fort on the way.

"The Rajah, with a numerous though vanquished army, has retired to a hill about a coss distant, he having guards all the way to the fort on every side of the jungle; so that it will require your orders towards my conducting myself properly in what remains to be done. There are none of the zemindars along with me who will undertake the charge of this pergunnah, notwithstanding (from the forward, nay barbarous, conduct of the runaway) the probability of gaining over the country-people. From his nephew, I have not so much as heard, though one would imagine he ought to have endeavoured to have conciliated my favour, so I can be no judge whether he is in any respect equal to the charge. I shall therefore expect your orders respecting the settlement of the pergunnah, while in the meantime I shall lose no favourable opportunity which may offer, whether to distress the enemy or to make an advantageous settlement for the Company, if this fool should repent of his obstinacy.

"During the whole march there was killed one beldar and one chewar of the Jhatibunni zemindar; one horseman shot through the leg and the bone broke; five sepoy's wounded, of which three is slight; and two shot through the muscles of the leg by ball, one of which is my orderly, who, poor fellow, got it to-day while close by me. In this day's engagement he had a piece of cannon planted in the jungle flanking the road, but it did no execution, the shot flying too high.

"It now remains to excuse myself for not writing before. The reason was that I could get none of the zemindars to undertake conveying it safe, and on that account I desisted. This goes by the means of the Jhatibunni zemindar, who, if he had behaved all along as he did the first day, I should have recommended. With respects to Mrs. Graham, and compliments to the gentlemen, I am, with real regard, &c."

Again Mr. Fergusson wrote,*—"After forcing our way 16 cosses through a thick jungle, we at last reached his fort, which the enemy abandoned, after very little resistance, for setting it on fire.

"The most valuable effects in the fort, with which it abounded, are all burnt. However, I have the pleasure to tell you that we were able to save a quantity of grain, which to me is a principal article, as otherwise I should soon have been obliged to abandon my conquest for want of provisions; for on the march they burned their villages, so that we had no supply since leaving Jambunni. We should have

* From John Fergusson to John Graham, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 23rd March 1767.

been able to have extinguished the fire had there been water in the fort; but there are only some small ponds, I think draw-wells, which were scarce sufficient to serve the purpose of quenching the thirst of our army, having marched a coss and a half without water. This day I send a party of sepoys into the jungle about a mile with the cattle to a fine tank to water, as the enemy have a strong guard there, and also 100 coolies with two handies slung for a supply. In last night's letter I acquainted you of my manner of marching, by which means I saved my men greatly, having lost from the whole only two, a chewar and beldar, and five sepoy and about 20 other adherents wounded.

"I shall now make it my business to explain to you as far as I can my sentiments on the head of resettling the pergunnah.

"It is my opinion, then, that this runaway zemindar ought by no means to be hearkened to if he should propose the largest terms, because there is no dependence to be put in him, he paying no regard to treaties; nay, did he give hostages, it would bind no further than when he is immediately awed by a force. He also is a great nuisance to his neighbours, constantly disturbing them, so that it would not be a popular step in the eyes of those who have not only settled for their own country, but also helped to reduce him. Moreover, by all accmpts I hear he is such a barbarous monster that he is by no means fit to be countenanced by a civilized nation, that is, if the carrying reports are true.

"From allowing the neighbouring zemindars to talk over the matter in my presence without seeming to take any notice, I find that the most probable method is that of setting up his nephew, as he will be able to detach a great many, if not all, from his uncle. If he should be able to detach all, as they say there is very great chance for, then he will also answer the Company's demands without further trouble; but if he should not be, then a part of my force will be necessary to support his party until he gains strength. Should this nephew be unwilling or unable to form any party, and to pay a proper revenue, then I believe, nay I know, that Mogul Roy, of Jhatibunni, will undertake to pay the Company's revenue, and retain the pergunnah if supported by a small party of sepoy to garrison the fort: but whether he is more ambitious than wise I can't say.

"Our Midnapore zemindars all say that they would not take a present of the country, so that there is only one other alternative, and that a poor one for the Company, that of levelling the fort and burning and destroying his country in terrorim to our other new subjects, and proceeding to the reduction of the remainder of the thana; and then, if you judged it proper, to return and lay on the country in such a manner as to oblige the heads of it to abandon their infatuated master.

"Thus, sir, from being on the spot, I have presumed to declare my sentiments freely; for though his army cannot withstand mine, yet they are very numerous, and I daresay against people of their own caste would still endeavour to maintain the country.

"If I can obtain any intelligence I shall not fail to distress them still in their lurking holes, if I can do it to advantage.

"If I can find that the channel of intelligence to and from you can be carried on easily, you may depend on hearing from me daily, but if difficult, only on extra occasions.

“With respects to Mrs. Graham, and compliments to gentlemen, I remain, with real regard.”

In the meantime Mr. Vansittart relieved Mr. Graham at Midnapore,* and Mr. Fergusson advised† him that he would not march any further in quest of the Ghatsila zemindar, who had retired to a distance, and the sympathies of the people were for the nephew. He added that all the ghee was burnt in the conflagration of the fort, which could not be extinguished for want of water, and only dāl, rice, and salt for a twelve months' consumption remained. Mr. Fergusson wished he could send the wounded to Midnapore, as he had no medicines nor time to attend them properly; but without a strong detachment he could not venture on doing so. Later, in March 1767, Mr. Fergusson‡ sent a detachment which surprised the Ghatsila zemindar, took him prisoner, and brought him in. But in Mr. Fergusson's absence the sepoys could not be kept under control, and plundered his effects. Only one sepoy and some chuars were wounded in the resistance that was made.

The Ghatsila fort was a good sample of the forts that were studded over the country, and afforded a retreat for the robber chieftains of the western jungles. Mr. Fergusson, in describing it, said,—“It is situated§ on a plain surrounded with jungle; its area nearly 1,150 square feet. It has a rampart of very bad earth, or rather gravel, and of course a bad rampart, as the gravel does not stick; but the ditch is excellent, being forty-two feet wide and 18 feet high to the level without. The principal gate is on the north side, near the north-east angle; for there is no bastion, and there is a small gate in the same manner near the south-west angle. The bridge over the ditch to both of these gates is a set of trees laid horizontally and covered with earth. They broke part of each on our approach, but on resolving not to hold out repaired it again with planks. Without the principal ditch is a very large esplanade, in which was the bazar and several dwelling-houses, and this again was surrounded by a ditch about seven feet wide and four deep. Within, in the very centre of the fort, was the zemindar's particular dwelling-house, surrounded by a very high and thick wall, being to the north and south 288 by 240 feet to the east and west, esplanade and all. There are only three paltry draw-wells, but to the north-west without the limits of the lesser ditch two large tanks.”

The former zemindar of Ghatsila was ordered down to Midnapore.¶ He was an old man, and could neither ride nor walk. An inventory of his property was also ordered to be made. Two companies of sepoys acted as an escort in conveying him to Midnapore.‡ The zemindar's nephew was seated in his stead; he agreed to pay Rs. 5,500 yearly, which, after great difficulty, the heads of villages who were present undertook to assist in collecting. The sum, it was said, exceeded the “taksim jumma.” The new zemindar changed his name to Jagannath

* From John Graham to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 25th March 1767.

† From J. Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 28th March 1767.

‡ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 29th March 1767.

§ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated April 1767, received 4th April 1767.

|| From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 5th April 1767.

¶ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 9th April 1767.

Dhal, from Kennandhal, and was presented with a horse, sword, and other articles. The value of the deposed zemindar's property was estimated to be about Rs. 5,600.

After this success Mr Fergusson proposed to go on to Janpur thana.

He wrote that in his opinion not only Ghatsila,* but also all the other zemindaris, would at a short period yield a considerable increase of revenue. Mr. Vansittart had intimated that vakils on the part of the various zemindars should go down to, and be in attendance in, Midnapore. On this subject Mr. Fergusson said,—“As to the sending vakils to Midnapore, the generality have two great objections even to giving an understanding person along with me—nay, after long insisting on it, I am obliged to give it up. Their objection is the expense of maintaining one, and they also allege that collecting a tashkis is so new a thing amongst them that it employs all their understanding people as yet to settle it equably or collect it.” So long as he remained in the interior Mr. Fergusson objected to have vakils stationed at Midnapore. They would always think that his orders could be reversed by judicious management in Midnapore. He suggested that he should be allowed to stay in a central place in the interior for one rainy season; he would thus gain an intimate knowledge of the resources of the pergunnahs, and would be able the better to increase the revenue in the following year. He would also be able to put an entire stop to all robbery and theft, and infuse a spirit of traffic and merchandizing. “In this way also,” he continued, “vakils will be trained up so sufficiently convinced of the benefit of being attached to the Company, that they will use the utmost to remain so.” On his way to Janpur Mr. Fergusson said,—“The weather being hot and moonlight, I march in the night time at present, notwithstanding of which I have several sick of fevers, continued and intermitting, and also the jaundice, which I find is owing to the shocking practice the sepoys have (some, I mean,) of smoking ganja and opium, especially in the warm weather.” Though even after Mr. Fergusson arrived at Janpur none of the zemindars in that part of the country would settle, yet none of them who had appeared by any means pretended to act on a hostile plan, but were rather restive in settling. However, Mr. Fergusson was well assured that they would come to his terms, and in this belief he discharged the bullocks which carried the Company's rice, &c., and sold the latter in the bazar.† Before the end of June vakils on behalf of the zemindars were sent to attend at Midnapore, and Mr. Fergusson himself returned to Balarampur, which was centrally situated on a river, and had been the usual seat of the chiefs who subdued the jungles.

Though the zemindar of Ghatsila had been deposed and his nephew inducted in his place, yet the measure does not seem to have established peace and security. There‡ lived, or practised their trade in the west of the district, four thieves or robbers, who made a system of living by plunder. One lived in the Ghatsila pergunnah, and was the head of the league; the second lived in Barahabhum, the third in Amainagar, and

* From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Camp, near Mohali, the 20th April 1767.

† From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Janpur, the 28th April 1767.

‡ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 2nd August 1767.

the fourth in the Burdwan province. These persons used to steal the cattle and effects of the zemindars, and they were always in the habit of communicating with one another, the two most distant being removed from one another not above six kos. The zemindars offered, if every one agreed to it, to sieze the robbers. The Raipur zemindar complained of the one who lived in the Ghatsila pergunnah, and Mr. Fergusson directed the Ghatsila zemindar to produce him. The robber returned an insolent reply to the perwannah issued in his name, and the zemindar proved remiss. Though it was advisable to take strong and active measures against the Ghatsila zemindar at once, Mr. Fergusson counselled delay, because his gun-carriages were in want of repairs; the rains had commenced, when the grass was long through which his army would have to march; the bowmen would attack with impunity and gall the soldiers; and the water in the fort ditch at Ghatsila would render an entrance into the fort difficult. He advised treating and temporising for two months, for the zemindar would at least do the essentials of his duty in the meantime; and in the end he might be compelled to conform to all orders on pain of being attacked. Subsequently, the Ghatsila zemindar expressed his submission, and made overtures.* But as he did not obey the summons and repair to Balarampur to Mr. Fergusson, the latter marched with two companies and some chuars, and took possession of the fort.† The Raja fled into the jungle, but regaining confidence surrendered himself, and was forgiven. A company, however, was proposed to be left in his fort. In return the zemindar offered Mr. Fergusson a present of Rs. 300 in token of his gratitude. The latter mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Vansittart, saying,—“It remains with you to point the propriety with which I can accept of this, or whether I am to refuse.”‡ Mr Fergusson had refused to take the present from the Raja while part of the Company’s tashkhis was due; he said that after that was given in he would give the Raja an answer. It is not said whether the present was eventually accepted or not.

Though, as the reader will have now seen, the western pergunnahs were not brought under the Company’s rule without some difficulty, nevertheless the proprietors of those that were not so fortunate evinced a strong desire to be admitted to the same privileges.§ For the zemindars of Patkum and Singbhoom actually asked to be put on a footing with their neighbours in the western jungles, as they were constantly oppressed by a neighbour who made a practice and trade of plundering and carrying off their effects. They could give a revenue of Rs. 6,000 at least annually. On this subject the Resident wrote to the Government from Balarampur, saying,—“Since my arrival here Petumber Sing, uncle to Jugganauth Sing,|| the present Rajah of Singbhoom (who is now kept under confinement by his cousin, Sownaut Sing), has waited on me on the part of his nephew, who supplicates the Company’s assistance, and is desirous of putting his territories under their

* From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 5th August 1767.

† From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ghatsila, the 22nd August 1767.

‡ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 30th August 1767.

§ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 4th June 1767.

|| From the Resident to the Hon’ble H. Verelst, dated Balarampur, the 13th December 1767.

protection and paying them an annual revenue. The account which Petumber Sing and his attendants have given me of Singbhoom is as follows. It is bounded on the north by Patkum; on the west by Nagpur and Gangpore (Mahratta districts); on the south by Keonjhar and Moharbhanj; on the east by Barahabhum and Ghatsila, two parganas belonging to these jungles; and it stretches itself in length from north-east to south-west between 40 and 50 koss, and in breadth from north-west to south-east about 8 or 10. It formerly contained near 14,000 villages, but only about 500 are at present in the Rajah's possession; of the others some are gone to ruin, and the rest are in the hands of the Coles, a tribe of plundering banditti. The face of the country is in general plain and open; it contains only a few straggling hills; has very little jungle in it, and no fortresses of importance. The Rajah is by marriage a distant relation of the Sambalpur Rajah; there is a constant correspondence between the two districts and an uninterrupted intercourse of merchants. They are situated from each other about 90 koss, and there is a tolerable good road the whole way between them. Singbhoom was never reduced under the dominions of the Moguls, but has for 52 generations been an independent district in the possession of the present family. This is the account which Petumber Sing, &c., have given me. I have thought it my duty to lay before you all the particulars of it. If you approve of taking the country under the Company's protection, four companies of sepoy I believe will be quite a sufficient force, and it will probably open an easy intercourse with Sambalpur. The first overtures on this subject were made by the Rajah to Lieutenant Fergusson near six months ago, who, by my direction, has since made all the inquiries he could concerning Singbhoom, and I find his information in general agrees with Petumber Sing's account."

During the course of the expedition under Mr. Fergusson it was found that a party of sepoy from Burdwan was engaged to the westward; another force from Pachet also was moving in the same locality. With both these parties disputes arose regarding the boundaries of the Midnapore province. It has already been seen that Raipur and Phulkusma, according to Mr. Fergusson's opinion, ought to have formed a part of Midnapore. The Chhatna zemindar* now earnestly begged to be relieved from the threats of the Faujdar of Pachet, as his people entirely neglected the country and dwelt in the jungles, so that the pergunnah was going to ruin. He added that his zemindari was always considered as in the Midnapore province, and that he had rather quit his country and starve than become a vassal of Pachet. With Captain Upton,† who commanded the sepoy from Burdwan, Mr. Fergusson had a difference which seriously affected the latter's equanimity. In a letter to the Resident he wrote,—“Captain Upton's letter convinces me that he has not given up the point regarding Chhatna. He seems surprised that I should not immediately condemn the orders and information of my chief, so clearly and distinctly expressed, on account of his assertions, and because Lieutenant Carter happened to come that way in the course of his survey; as if the Chief of Midnapore

* From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 7th June 1767.

† From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 5th April 1767.

was not the proper judge of the limits of his own province than a young gentleman about one year in the country who is ordered on a survey, I suppose, because he knows the use of Gunter's chain and the theodolite, and perhaps is an excellent hand at charts. He talks of disputes. I cannot conceive what in the disputing style he could pick from my letters; and if it is a matter to be settled by the Governor, for I can't conceive how Mr. Sykes should be joined with him in that affair, the sooner the better, as I, notwithstanding Captain Upton's caveat and Lieutenant Carter's mensurations, have adhered to my first settlement with the Chhatna zemindars, and there is actually some revenue arrived from him in the thana of Balarampur." The result of these differences was that a subadar and his company were detached to Chhatna from Mr. Fergusson's small force, principally to promote the security of the pergunnah against the Faujdar of Pachet.*

The question whether pergunnah Chhatna was to belong to Moorshedabad or to Midnapore, or, in other words, to Bengal or to Orissa, was finally disposed of by the following courteous and sensible letter:—† "I have received your letter of the 25th. As the Midnapore province is looked upon as a part of the Company's own possessions, we cannot be too solicitous in increasing the revenues and demanding such districts as we can claim with any shadow of right. I shall not therefore enter into any examination of the pretensions of the Phoujedar of Pachet, but direct him to withdraw his people and leave the collection of those lands entirely to you."

As will have been noticed, both the Midnapore and Dharinda pergunnahs supplied their contingents in the expedition to the west.‡ The former actually sent 50 horse and between 400 and 500 foot to accompany Mr. Fergusson's force. The retainers were not paid any sums by way of wages; they had lands assigned to them, on which they, however, paid a pretty considerable peshkash, or quit-rent. But when they were sent on any service beyond the limits of their pergunnahs, they were allowed in addition diet money. In Mr. Fergusson's expedition about Rs. 3,000 were said to have been expended in this way, but matters were compromised by allowing the Rani Shiromani the sum of Rs. 700 only.

Mr. Fergusson's operations§ from a financial point of view deserved to be considered not unsatisfactory; for, in addition to the amount he had already sent, in April he remitted 1,000 Adad rupees to Midnapore, which was the instalment of land revenue due for the month of Chait from those zemindars who had already settled; and in May he sent Rs. 3,150 in cash and Rs. 25 in bond.||

During the entire year 1767 Mr. Fergusson remained in the west of the district in the jungles, and it was said he had succeeded in settling the pergunnahs in that part of the country.¶ His expedition

* From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 27th June 1767.

† From Francis Sykes to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Maydapur, the 4th July 1767.

‡ From George Vansittart to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 21st June 1767.

§ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ghatsila Fort, the 9th April 1767.

|| From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 29th May 1767.

¶ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 7th June 1767.

had been attended with so much success that the Collector-General recommended Mr. Vansittart to send an intelligent person to Singbhoom to acquire a knowledge of the country,* the strength of the fortresses, and particularly to find out whether the Mahrattas had any claim, or ever had any pretensions, to the country, as this point was to be cleared up before any troops were ordered to march into it. The existing state of the Company's affairs would not allow of their engaging in any disputes with the Mahrattas. In the communication embodying these instructions the Collector-General said,—“Mrs. Vansittart and yourself have my wishes for every happiness in the course of the present year.” Accordingly,† two sepoys were sent to explore Singbhoom, but were forced to return, not having been allowed to proceed more than a kos or two beyond the frontier. They ascertained, however, that Jagannath Singh, the Raja, was the tool and in the power of one Sownath Singh. Purihati, which was distant 30 kos from the borders of Ghatsila, was the residence of the Singbhoom Raja. From Purihati to Sambalpur the distance was 60 kos. A lofty chain of hills passed through the country, about 16 kos on the Midnapore side of Purihati. The jurisdiction of the Mahrattas had never extended to Singbhoom, nor did they receive the smallest revenue from it. The subject was eventually disposed of in the following words by Mr. Verelst:—“As I hope soon to gain possession of Cuttack, I would rather choose to defer taking any measures regarding Singbhoom till that time.”‡

The pergunnahs to the westward, though said to be settled, cannot have been entirely subjugated, notwithstanding that Mr. Fergusson had remained in them so many months.§ For he had to resettle Manbhoom in January, and to proceed against the Chhatna zemindar, who appeared to have swerved from his duty. Mr. Fergusson said after visiting Chhatna,—“The conduct of the Chhatna zemindar,|| and a desire of promoting the plan of civilizing and familiarizing the country people to our government, also lessening the despotic sway of the zemindars by informing and instructing the ryots that in cases of oppression there was redress, not only have prolonged my stay in this quarter in general, but also particularly induced me to march to Chhatna bazar. The inhabitants of the Chhatna pergunnah are a polished set in comparison with their neighbours; there are few or no paiks, abundance of ryots and petty merchants. The country is divided into talooks, all of which are possessed by the blood and marriage relations of the zemindar, and the late defect and delay in paying of the revenue is owing to them; for they, not being used to pay any at all, pay the small assessment demanded from them now with great reluctance.” Mr. Fergusson went much about among the villagers, and they appeared to him to apprehend in its full force the advantages arising from the Company's

* From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 10th January 1768.

† From George Vansittart to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, President and Governor, dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1768.

‡ From the Hon'ble H. Verelst, President and Governor, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 19th March 1768.

§ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Ranzipur, the 20th January 1768.

|| From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Supur, the 26th January 1768.

protection. "In short," he continued, "the zemindar here is held to his duty by a well-grounded apprehension that his own people would desert him, whereas in the other four pergunnalis the ryots, such as they are, are solely attached to the zemindar. Amidst these general intentions towards improving the country, I was not inattentive to the measures necessary to enforce the immediate payment of the revenue. As Chhatna was the most culpable, I inflicted corporal punishment on the wakil on account of breaking a formal promise in the revenue collections, and have taken a written promise from his dewan, by which the nuzza is to be cleared off in Phalagoon, and the tashkis kists to be paid regularly with the month." The zemindar was warned in most severe terms not to allow those people who occasioned delays in the revenue any sway whatsoever. If he on any other occasion proved dilatory in the remittance of his revenue, he was to be driven from his pergunnah.

The many fruitless incursions from Bishnupur into the western pergunnahs in pursuit of Damudar Singh, and the unrelenting manner in which his suspected protectors had been plundered and treated, had produced a very bad effect in the country. The strictest discipline (for every sepoy knew Mr. Fergusson's sentiments so well that he would not go into a village if not on the march), the most persuasive and familiar address, nay the desire of their zemindar, could not induce the ryots to remain in their houses when Mr. Fergusson and his party approached. They carried their families and effects into the jungle; "but," he adds, "they never failed to come in crowds to pay their respects when I went a riding or walking in the jungle."

Fresh troubles arose in Ghatsila.* The Raja fell into arrears, constantly evaded compliance with the Resident's commands, and was apparently concerting measures to regain his independence. To counteract all this an intelligent and trusty man was appointed to the office of the zemindar's dewan, and Lieutenant Rooke with two companies of sepoy was sent to re-establish authority over the pergunnah, and remove the principal of the zemindar's advisers. It was not intended to depose the zemindar. Mr.,† now become Lieutenant, Fergusson, who had done such excellent service, was transferred to another province. As Mr. Vansittart had more than his share of Lieutenants attached to the battalion stationed at Midnapore, an ensign was appointed in his stead.‡

In June Lieutenant Rooke§ marched westward and to the fort of Ghatsila in hopes of coming on the Raja unawares, for the latter would not come near him. They marched to the village where the Raja was by night, but failed in securing him.

In July Captain Charles Morgan|| was sent apparently to relieve Mr. Rooke, who happened to have fallen ill of fever. He wrote,—"The

* From George Vansittart to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 1st June 1768.

† From H. Verelst to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 26th January 1768.

‡ In the appendix are given copies of some of Mr. Fergusson's letters. They may prove interesting, if on no other ground, at any rate on that of quaintness and originality.—*Vide* appendix No. 1.

§ From George Rooke to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Tiliaband, the 8th June 1768.

|| From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Narsinghar, the 8th July 1768.

Pike fellows of this country are still in arms, and it will be necessary to have a strong detachment in this fort (Narsinghgar) whenever I move, as it is practicable to storm it in every place." Jagannath Dhal, the Raja, was about twenty kos from Ghatsila, and had got all the principal "zemindars" along with him. Endeavours were being made to bring them in. "The Dampara fellow," Captain Morgan added, "has been very troublesome, and prevents the people of this country from coming in. I shall endeavour to lay hold of him, and will give him no quarter, as I intend his head shall grace the entrance of this fort, for everybody gives him a very bad character."

Captain Morgan finally sent one of the sergeants with him (Bascombe by name) to seize a petty zemindar, that of "Chuccolea," who had been deposed. He gave no little trouble, attacked Sergeant Bascombe on his march several times, and cut down trees in the road to prevent his progress. Captain Morgan said,—“The sergeant expended half the ammunition I gave him before he could drive the fellows off. Since the sergeant's arrival there, the country people (who were very averse to his measures) have cut off his head;* the man who did it acts as zemindar until your pleasure is known. Soon after Mr. Rooke's arrival here he took a great many of the country people's cattle, but upon their promising to come to him they were all returned to their owners. This did not produce the desired effect; on the contrary, the very people who had their cattle restored to them opposed Mr. Rooke's return over the river, which he had crossed in pursuit of the Rajah, and have since had the impudence to attack the fort several times. This obliged Mr. Rooke to send a detachment to drive them off, who pursued them a great way, and brought in with them above a hundred and fifty head of cattle, which I think Mr. Rooke had a right to look upon as lawful prize. He thought so at the time, and ordered them to be sold. As you are now acquainted with the real circumstances of the affair, you will let me know your further pleasure on the subject, and your orders shall be obeyed. It is the only thing Rooke has made by his expedition, and certainly the country fellows deserve a punishment of this sort to prevent their rebellion for the future.

"It is all a joke to talk of licking these jungle fellows. They have not the least idea of fighting; they are like a parcel of wasps: they endeavour to sting you with their arrows and then fly off. It is impossible almost to kill any of them, as they always keep at a great distance and fling their arrows at you, which, you may suppose, seldom or ever do any execution. As the thing is to frighten these fellows as much as possible, I wish you would send one of the one-pounders with a pair of the new wheels as soon as possible. It will be necessary always to keep that gun in this fort, which I believe will be of more service than an extraordinary company of sepoy. You need not order the tumbril, as a few bullocks loaded with ammunition will do. The serang or sergeant can make up cartridges for a hundred ball and about fifty rounds of grape with two barrels of country powder to fire the morning and evening gun."

* Probably the zemindar's, not the sergeant's, measures or head.

In July Mr. Vansittart directed* that Jagannath Dhal, the Ghatsila zemindar, should be deposed for persistence in disobedience, and his elder brother, Nimu Dhal, should be appointed to the zemindari. He further remarked, and apparently with considerable truth, that the pergunnah had not been entirely settled. The proposed new Raja had been taken prisoner by Mr. Rooke in one of his nightly expeditions against his brother, and, as Captain Morgan said,† “was a good sort of man, and his appearance was very much in his favour. He was very poor, not having even clothes to cover him. The Chowdhry was ordered to supply him with everything he wanted.” Captain Morgan concluded his letter to the Resident, a purely official document, in these words, “Rooke’s and my compliments wait on you and the gentlemen of your factory.”

On the 13th July Captain Morgan‡ proposed to march after the old Raja if he did not come in with the sirdars who were with him. The zemindars did not assemble in a body, but kept in small parties in the jungles. “Jiban Roy, the zemindar of Cochpara, had the impudence to attack my sepoys,” Captain Morgan wrote, “that are stationed at Burcola a few nights ago. By way of retaliation I ordered a sergeant with a company to march into his country to endeavour to take him; but he was too quick for them, swam over the river, and left our men in the lurch. He had before drove off all his cattle to the Moharbhaj country, as I am informed by two prisoners which were taken by the sergeant’s party.” Boats were wanting. Captain Morgan could not cross the Subarnrekha, and great scarcity of provisions was felt. The fort would have had to be abandoned with the greater number of the sepoys unless some arrived soon, as only one seer of rice was allowed to each man per diem. Captain Morgan’s letter affording this information concludes with a postscript saying, —“Rooke joins with me in desiring you will give our compliments to Mrs. Vansittart when you write, and compliments to Mr. Pearce; &c.” Another postscript runs,—“Tell the doctor we are in want of cooling powders.”

Captain Morgan’s character was a contrast to that of the gentleman he succeeded, Mr. Fergusson. In his letter§ of the 14th July he wrote,—“This morning I received two letters from you, one of the 5th, the other of the 11th, together with a list of officers who I very heartily wish at the devil.” He added that heavy rains had fallen for two days and prevented him stirring from Narsinghgar fort, the rivers being all swollen and no boats procurable. The Paiks wanted very much to leave him, as the season for selling their rice had set in. “Nothing can be done this season of the year without the zemindars think proper to come in, which at present they do not seem at all inclined to do, so that my staying here is an useless expense; it must be a great one, for you must constantly send me supplies of provisions. At present I have very little in the fort, and if I don’t receive some

* From George Vansittart to Richard Beecher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 28th July 1768.

† From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Narsinghgar, the 8th July 1768.

‡ From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Narsinghgar, the 13th July 1768.

§ From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Narsinghgar, the 14th July 1768.

shortly from you I shall be obliged to leave the fort and march to Balarampur or Janpur, as they are the only places I can expect to find provisions at."

Again, in July Captain Morgan* wrote,—“There is no such thing as dealing with these people by fair means; there is none of them yet come in, nor have they answered my purwannas in writing.” * * *

“Finding all I have hitherto done of no effect, I have this day appointed Nemoo Dhal Rajah * * * I have again wrote to the head people of the different pergunnahs to acquaint them with what I have done, and to order them in immediately, threatening such as disobey my orders. * * * As your servants did not send clothes for the Rajah, I was obliged to buy the best I could for him here. I gave him a horse, because he was very desirous of it and told me Mr. Fergusson had given Jugarnauth Dhal one. The horse is not of any great value; I believe a hundred rupees or little more will be the purchase. After I had given your sunnud to the Rajah and dismissed him, he mounted his horse and rode all through the village with the tom-toms beating before him in a prodigious grand manner. And now we have got a new Rajah, John Company must supply him with money and victuals, for he has not the least of either. You must not fail to send me constant supplies of provisions, for the country people don't seem inclined in the least to do any such thing * * * To tell you my real sentiments of the affairs of this country at present, I think it will be a more difficult job to settle it, than it was at first to conquer it; for this plain reason, the disaffected have now a young man to head them who never stays long in any particular place, consequently it will be more difficult to lay hold of him than it was to catch the old Rajah, who was fool enough to stay in this fort till Fergusson came here.” The postscript to this letter runs,—“For God's sake send me a supply of fowls by the return of the daks, for I have nothing to eat.”

On the 22nd July Captain Morgan† wrote from Narsinghgar,—“I am very glad you think me so careful a servant. You certainly shall never have any reason to think me otherwise; for while I serve old John, it shall be with honesty, although I am very angry with the old gentleman for sending out such a string of field officers. * * * There is now not the least disturbance in any part of the country, and you need no longer send duplicates of your letters, as I receive them quite regular. * * * The best thing that could be done for the Company will be to make Jugarnauth Dhal Rajah again, for, as I told you before, not a rupee will you get for many months if Nemoo Dhal is continued. If you don't choose to be concerned, I can easily find an excuse for making Jagannath Dhal Rajah again; but you are to do as you think proper, and I have only to obey your orders.”‡ Boats were expected from Janpur, when the river would be crossed, but they were not procurable and the river was impassable. The Haldipukhar and other sirdars were with Jagannath,

* From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Narsinghgar, the 16th July 1768.

† From Charles Morgan to the Resident, dated Narsinghgar, the 22nd July 1768.

‡ From C. Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Narsinghgar, the 25th July 1768.

who declined to come in, being too afraid. "Should the majority of the sirdars favour Jugarnauth," Captain Morgan said, "it will be the work of many months to bring them in, as the country on the other side of the river is very extensive and hilly, and it would be impossible to subsist men there when the people of the country were enemies to us. Mr. Rooke joins me in the most sincere congratulations on the birth of your son, as well as on Mrs. Vansittart's being out of danger, and we earnestly wish her speedy recovery.

"I wish to God this business was over, for I am really tired of doing nothing, and my poor sepoys fall sick continually. I have now above sixty men ill of fever. One of my lascars died a day or two ago, and Mr. Flint is very ill. Be so good as send me a large quantity of ginger, as I find tea made of it to be very good for the sick men."

As there were five companies on command in the western jungles, "I will lose no time," resumed Captain Morgan,* "in pursuing Jugarnauth Dhal. The consequence of it will be that all the people of the country will run to the devil, and the country cannot possibly be settled for many months; but what can I do with the rascals when they neither come in nor answer my purwannahs?

"I have returned the Dampara sirdar all his cows and bullocks."

In August Captain Morgan† had crossed the river in a boat, which he said leaked "confoundedly," and with part of three companies he proceeded to the Haldipukhar country in pursuit of Jagannath Dhal. The cavalry had not got over, and were described as seeming to be a shocking set of dogs.

A few days later the Captain wrote‡ from Haldipukhar that while he stayed on that side the river the country would abundantly furnish him with everything he could want. "Let me know if I am to attack the Mahrattas or not," said he, apparently in reference to an intimation from the Resident that the movements of the Mahrattas were becoming suspicious, "though I must confess I am little able; for yesterday I divided my men, an equal number to each company, as there were more sick of some companies than others. They consist now of 38 men each fit for duty, and this number is decreasing daily by sickness." He apparently intended to march to Bamanghatti, where hardly any provisions were procurable. Captain Morgan, in describing his treatment of the sick, said, — "Mr. Impochillam has been very bad ever since my arrival. I am obliged to turn doctor myself, and I give Furlington's drops for all kinds of disorders." Nevertheless, his men fell sick daily at Haldipukhar. He intended to stay there sometime longer, as the people seemed to be very saucy. "The sirdars," he wrote.§ "of this and Daly pergunnah are remarkably so. I have given orders to the poor Rajah to seize all the effects of the sirdars which are gone with Jugarnauth Dhal. It will help to support him; at

* From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Narsinghar, the 30th July 1768.

† From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Camp. Suunegarria, on the western bank of the Subarnrekha, the 2nd August 1768.

‡ From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Haldipukhar, the 11th August 1768.

§ From Charles Morgan to George Vansittart, dated Camp, Haldipukhar, the 8th August 1768.

present he is wretchedly poor. I think you should send him a present of some pieces of cloth and some silches, for he cuts a most woful figure for a Rajah."

The Bamanghatti zemindar, and* not improbably the Moharbhauj Raja, were supporting the recalcitrant Ghatsila zemindar. In describing the places to which he moved from time to time, Captain Morgan wrote,—“ There is a large extent of country surrounded on all sides by high hills. It is the most beautiful I have ever seen since my arrival in India, and seems to be very plentiful, though I can't say very much for the civility of the people, as I have not been able to get a single thing for my sepoys since my arrival. All I can say to them will not make them bring things to the bazar to sell.” Captain Morgan described himself as in a bog in Haldipukhar, and his men were falling sick ; he intended to change camp. “ For God's sake send me a strong supply of Madeira brandy and butter. Send them to Narsinghar, and I can get them sent by small quantities to me by the daks which I have settled at Mohullea, Kalikapur, and this place. The two former articles I stand much in need of, as this is the shockingest weather I ever saw in my life. When I return to Midnapore it will be necessary, I believe, to leave a subadar and forty men here ; the remainder of the company and the gun (a two-pounder) will be sufficient at Narsinghar. When I have been here a little longer, I shall be better able to judge what will be best to do.”

All the sirdars had been with Captain Morgan† at Haldipukhar. The balance of the Company's account was to be settled in a day or two, when he intended to return to Narsinghar and settle what business there was to do. Mr. Fergusson had laid a tax on the people of the pergunnahs to pay him yearly an anna on every rupee they paid to the Raja. Captain Morgan ordered the money arising from this tax to be brought to the Company's account for the present, and not to be levied for the future.

In September the Resident reported‡ that Ghatsila was entirely settled, and the business going on in a proper channel. However, the disturbances which happened before the authority of the new zemindar could be well established had occasioned a deficiency in the rents of Alla Sicca Rs. 721-5-11. It was hoped that this could be recovered in a month's time.

It was not only in the west of the district that troubles and disturbances made their appearance. The petty zemindars of thana Fateabad, a small district belonging to the Jellasore province, had misbehaved themselves to such an extent that in November the Resident sent Lieutenant Rooke§ with two companies of sepoys to dispossess them of their forts, and put the district on a footing which might be more advantageous to the Company and less troublesome to the neighbouring pergunnahs.

* From Charles Morgan to the Resident, dated Camp, Haldipukhar, the 6th August 1768.

† From C. Morgan to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Camp, Haldipukhar, the 17th August 1768.

‡ From George Vansittart to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 23rd September 1768.

§ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 21st November 1768.

In the beginning of the year 1769* Mr. Vansittart, the Resident at Midnapore, put into execution a resolution he had formed of visiting the western pergunnahs of the district, and by personal observation of their condition becoming acquainted with their wants. He said that after so long a state of independence and lawlessness it was probable that some regulations would be required which would contribute to the improvement and welfare of so large and desolate a tract of country. He went, and from Chhatna† he wrote,—“As very strong reports prevail that the Mahrattas really intend to invade these provinces, I request you will communicate to me any intelligence which you may receive upon the subject, and which may be of any importance for me to know, and that you will favour me early with your command how I should act. I do not imagine that these reports are by any means to be depended upon. But if authentic intelligence should hereafter arrive in confirmation of them, would you choose that I should enter into a negotiation with the Moharbhaj Rajah and engage our protection for his support. I have reason to believe that he would be glad of such an opportunity to shake off the Mahratta yoke, and the position of his country would, in case of Mahratta troubles, render it extremely convenient to us.

P.S.—“I am at present engaged in a circuit round my jungles, but purpose getting back to Midnapore by the middle of March.”

Mr. Vansittart‡ described the country in the western jungles as of very considerable extent, but abounding in hills and spacious woods. The inhabitants were very few, and consisted in a great measure of paiks, who were in general very negligent of the business of cultivation. In short, the quantity of cultivated ground was so trifling and the rents so low that small as the Company's revenues might appear in proportion to the extent of country, yet he did not think it would for some time admit of any considerable increase; although at the same time there was reason to believe that the country would continually improve by the inhabitants becoming more civilized, and applying themselves more to the business of cultivation.

The calm which had characterized the progress of the year hitherto was destined soon to be dissipated. Before the year drew to a close the chuars, inhabiting the hills between the pergunnahs of Ghatsila and Barahabhum, committed great disturbances in their districts, and Mr. Vansittart§ sent Lieutenant Nun with three companies of sepoy to reduce them, which he thought could easily be effected, though the neighbouring chuars of Pachet, Patkum, and Singbhoom|| had joined to assist them. However, the chuars invaded the pergunnahs of Barahabhum and Ghatsila. Captain Forbes marched to expel them by the way of Ghatsila, and Lieutenant Nun by way of Barahabhum, and

* From the Resident to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 16th February 1769.

† From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, Esq., dated Chhatna, the 28th February 1769.

‡ From George Vansittart to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 10th April 1769.

§ From George Vansittart to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 14th December 1769.

|| From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, dated Midnapore, the 26th December 1769.

these two officers had five companies of sepoy between them and two small field pieces. Their endeavours were not quite unsuccessful. A body of not less than 5,000 chuars* had invaded Ghatsila and obliged the zemindar, with a small body of Company's sepoy, to retire to the fort of Narsinghgar. These were disposed of by Captain Forbes. Lieutenant Nun on his side of the country destroyed some of their retreats, and drove the main body into the hills with considerable loss. The chuars, however, must have made a reasonably stout resistance, for in one engagement they killed four sepoy and wounded seven.

Captain Forbes cleared his side of the hills and went to join Lieutenant Nun.† It was deemed advisable, however, that he should not retrace his steps to Midnapore till Lieutenant Nun had completed his business, ‡ lest Ghatsila pergunnah might be exposed to fresh inroads from the chuars, and they might acquire fresh spirits. Orders were issued that if Subla Singh, the jaghirdar of Kuilapal,§ one of the principal insurgents, should prove obstinate and presume to make any resistance, endeavours should be made to lay hold of him and hang him upon the spot as an example. However, in the early part|| of January 1770 Lieutenant Nun finished his work in Barahabhum, and proceeded to Amainagar. The sepoy left at Barahabhum were to act under the orders of the Balarampur thanadar. It was then decided that there was no more occasion for Captain Forbes' remaining at Haldipukhar.

About the middle¶ of January 1770 the Collector-General was informed that the disturbances in the jungle would probably be entirely settled before the end of the month.

How delusive a hope this was destined to be subsequent events only too clearly proved. On** the 19th January Lieutenant Nun's sepoy were, owing to an unreasonable sense of security on his part, surprised among the hills and jungles by the mountaineers, were seized with a sudden panic, and betook themselves to flight. A subadar, a sergeant, and about twenty sepoy, were killed; Lieutenant Nun and another subadar and forty sepoy were wounded.

Troubles never come singly.†† A party of twenty sepoy which was left at Kuchang, two kos from Haldipukhar, by Captain Forbes, was cut off by treachery, and Captain Forbes himself was likely to be a good deal pestered among the hills. Lieutenant Bateman with a complete company of sepoy was sent to reinforce Lieutenant Nun, and the sick and wounded ordered to be sent back to Midnapore. The Midnapore garrison was rendered extremely weak, there being not quite three companies to do duty,‡‡ more than half a company being in the hospitals. It was thought not improbable that the chuars would

* From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 24th December 1769.

† From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 3rd January 1770.

‡ From the Resident to Captain Forbes, dated Midnapore, the 8th January 1770.

§ From the Resident to Lieutenant Nun, dated Midnapore, the 8th January 1770.

|| From the Resident to Captain Forbes, dated Midnapore, the 8th January 1770.

¶ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 14th January 1770.

** From the Resident to Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, dated Midnapore, the 19th January 1770.

†† From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 19th January 1770.

‡‡ From the Resident to John Cartier, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1770.

submit, for they restored, in hopes of peace, the gun and some of the firelocks which they had taken from Lieutenant Nun, who, it was said, could not be entirely acquitted of imprudence. He himself was at Salbani with three complete companies of sepoys, having been joined two days after his misfortune by Captain Forbes.

Lieutenant Goodyar marched to Haldipukhar with two companies of sepoys, in order to secure the tranquillity of that part of the country and to call the Kuchang zemindar to an account for cutting off the party of sepoys. Exclusive of these five companies, there was another company and a half upon command in different places.* Though the chuar insurgents showed a disposition to return to their allegiance, Mr. Peiarce, the Provisional Resident at Midnapore, deemed it absolutely necessary that they should be quite submissive before they obtained peace.† The military were therefore still retained in Barahabhum, and though the disturbances in that quarter were said to be almost brought to a conclusion a jemadar's party was to be left there eventually, and a muchalka was to be taken from the zemindar that he would be responsible for any disturbances. As the expense of Lieutenant Nun's detachment was very heavy and provisions scarce, it was to return to Midnapore.

Lieutenant Goodyar,‡ however, was to proceed to Kuchang to take possession of the country, to collect the rents on the Company's account, and, if possible, to lay hold of the zemindar or his brother or any others who were principally concerned in the death of the sepoys, and to send them to Midnapore. The sepoys, it is said, were to be supplied during the march with firewood by the zemindar, but everything else they were to pay for at the market price.§ Somewhat later the sepoys were accused of plundering every place they went through.

As the Ghatsila dewan was complained against both by the Raja as well as by the ryots, he was to be ordered down to Midnapore to explain his conduct.|| The intention first formed of annexing Kuchang was subsequently laid aside as productive of encroachments on the rights of the Moharbhaj Raja, who held quite an independent position as regards the Company. He was chief of both Bamanghatti and Kuchang, and appointed zemindars to both these districts. When the Kuchang zemindar was found to have forced from their habitations many of the ryots of the Haldipukhar district belonging to the Raja of Ghatsila, and to have put a stop to the Company's revenue, Lieutenant Goodyar was instructed¶ to use his first endeavours to encouraging the Haldipukhar ryots to resettle in their former habitations and to remain firm in their allegiance to the Ghatsila zemindar. The Moharbhaj Raja was prevailed upon to depose his subordinate, and to appoint the Bamanghatti zemindar as the new zemindar of Kuchang. Instead of the Company's officials settling the Kuchang zemindari

* From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 15th February 1770.

† From the Resident to Lieutenant Nun, dated Midnapore, the 31st March 1770.

‡ From the Resident to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 7th February 1770.

§ From the Resident to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 23rd April 1770.

|| From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 15th February 1770.

¶ From the Resident to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 7th February 1770.

with him, as they at first intended, they were to have nothing further to do with it than as a frontier place to guard against disturbances upon their territories in Ghatsila.

The zemindar of Kuchang, however, was duly to observe and pay obedience to whatever orders he received from the Resident at Midnapore, and he was to be answerable for all disturbances or thefts from his quarters upon any of the Midnapore districts, such as Ghatsila. If he did not stand to this agreement, he was to be turned out, not only from Kuchang, but also from Bamanghatti. The revenues of Kuchang were to be left to be settled just as the Moharbhaj Raja himself pleased. He was to fix it at whatever he pleased, and to collect it himself as he pleased.† In the month of May 1770 Lieutenant Goodyar was recalled to Midnapore, as there was no further work for him in the western jungles. But in November the Kulupal Jaghirdar, Subla Singh, in the pergunnah Amainagar, the sirdar of Dhadki, in the Barahabhum pergunnah, and the Dampara sirdar in Ghatsila, again committed insurrection.‡ The three insurgents had usurped an independent authority when they had been placed under the zemindars of their respective pergunnahs, and began to commit outrages: in a word, they had become, as the Resident said, "rebellious freebooters." Lieutenant Goodyar was sent with a force of two companies of sepoy and a small field-piece (a two-pounder) to reduce them. He was first to proceed to Balarampur thana, where he would be joined by about 1,000 paiks. In case the insurgents submitted, they should be made to come to Midnapore, where every reasonable indulgence was promised to be shown to them. The Collector-General, Mr. Russell, when he was apprised of the fresh disturbances, hoped that the rebellion would soon be put down. He suggested, however, that moderation ought ever to take place, except in cases of extreme obstinacy and perverseness.§ "The commanding officer ought," he said, "also to be particularly circumspect as to the conduct of his soldiery, especially at this season; otherwise they might prove a weightier grievance to the country in general than those freebooters we are aiming to make sensible of their duty. I approve much of your preliminary article in requiring their presence at Midnapore, as their non-compliance will be a certain indication of their future malintentions." The result of this expedition must be left to be described in a subsequent chapter. The accounts already given will have shown sufficiently how difficult a task it was a century ago to curb and restrain the lawlessness of the people who dwelt in the west of the district.

JUNGLE MEHALS.

The old records contains so much matter connected with that part of the Midnapore district which is situated to the north-west and west, and which is usually described by the name of the "Jungle Mehals," that it may not be deemed out of place to give here some further

* From John Pearce to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 13th April 1770.

† From John Pearce to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 23rd May 1770.

‡ From Edward Baber to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated the 30th November 1770.

§ From Claud Russell to Edward Baber, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 16th December 1770.

account of the former state of the country, its inhabitants, their manners and customs, derived from extracts from records later than those belonging to the period extending from 1764 to 1774. Of the pergunnahs now included in the Midnapore district, the following* come under the description "Jungle Mehals":—Bhanjabhum, Brahmanbhum, Bogree, Bahadurpur, Dharinda, Digparoi, Chiara, Naiabasan, Baliabera, Jhargram, Jambunni, Kalianpur, Jhatibunni or Silda, Rohini Maubhandar, Dipa Kiarchand, Sankakulia or Lalgar, and Ramgar. In 1770, as now, by far the greater portion of the area of these pergunnahs was covered with jungle, composed almost altogether of stunted sâl. This sâl does not develop into timber for at least a dozen years; and as the zemindars are by nature improvident and thriftless, the trees are cut down for sale before they have arrived at maturity. The consequence is that there is little or no timber in the district.

In 1776 a mokurreree or fixed settlement was, by order† of the Hon'ble Board, made with all the jungle zemindars under the Midnapore chakla by Mr. Higginson, then Chief of the Provincial Council of Burdwan. The Board‡ declared their chief purpose herein was not to effect an aggrandizement of the revenue, but the settlement of an easy peshkash or quit-rent, as an acknowledgment merely of the Company's sovereignty.

In 1780, in allusion to Naiabasan, one of the jungle mehals, it was said§ that great part of the lands was held by a kind of feudal tenure by sirdars and paiks, and such undisciplined rabble, ready to turn out at the caprice of the zemindar.

In 1781 the jungle zemindars in describing|| their country said "it is a jungle; that their rents are a kind of quit-rent collected from their paiks and chuars; that they are surrounded likewise by jungle zemindars, on the east by Bogree and Bishnupur; on the north Patchet; on the west Singbhoom; on the south Damudar Bhanja, the Moharbhhanj Rajah; that all these are more mighty than they, and from whom they frequently suffer depredations, notwithstanding the redress upon application at Midnapore is at hand." Also in 1781 the Collector of Midnapore wrote,—“The inhabitants¶ of these zemindaries, being chuars, are bred up as much for pillaging as cultivating, and pay a kind of quit-rent from the profits of both occupations: they are prompt enough, easily to be shaken from their obedience to Government. It is absolutely necessary a strict hand and short accounts be kept with them; whereas they are now left to themselves, and at full liberty to act as they please, no person at present having charge of them, the Committee having directed me to strike those mehals out of my concerns. I have now mentioned this only with a view to prevent the

* *Vide* Map, Appendix No. 3 of Chapter II.

† From the Collector to the Honorable Warren Hastings, Governor-General, and Members of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 10th October 1779.

‡ From the Collector to William Cowper, President of the Revenue Committee, dated Midnapore, the 19th April 1785.

§ From the Collector to the Honorable Warren Hastings, Governor-General, and Members of the Council, Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 2nd October 1780.

|| From the Collector to the Honorable Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, and Members of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 23rd November 1781.

¶ From the Collector to the Honorable Warren Hastings, Governor-General, and Members of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 27th November 1781.

interest of the Company suffering from a longer delay." It was the custom in 1781 for zemindars wishing to be freed from the control of the Collector to petition the Calcutta authorities to be allowed to pay their revenue at the presidency. This emancipation from local superintendence was apparently easily obtained, and it is to this practice that the Collector alludes in his letter.

Apparently the condition in which the Company found the jungle mehals in 1767 was but the condition of the entire district in former years under the Mahomedan Government.* "Formerly this part of the country was overrun with chuars, or thieves, and being a frontier and in the vicinity of jungles was subject to many invasions and depredations, and the zemindars always fighting amongst themselves. In consequence of these troubles and the soubadars being frequently changed there was no fixed or moorrur sheristah or regular account kept of the revenues. Wherefore it was thought expedient by the Sultan Ackbar, when he deputed Torul Mull to make the settlement here, to institute the office of canongoe purposely to keep an account of the collections or wassool of the settlement that had been made and the pergunnah and cutcherry charges, likewise a statement of the balances that might accrue, and to report the causes thereof, whether from the Chuars or the zemindars quarrelling amongst themselves, or absconding into the jungles or amongst their frontier neighbours." When establishing the office of canoongo, from the same cause of an unsettled and lawless government, Todel Mull appointed sirdars to be stationed at thana Narayangar to prevent depredations and keep in awe the refractory zemindars. A proper force of paiks, to be controlled by these sirdars, three in number, was organized, and for their maintenance a certain quantity of lands was assigned from eight pergunnahs as jaghirs under the denomination of Bornjan and Batitaki. This establishment being found useless was abolished in Mr. Burdett's time, and thereby an increase of Rs. 1,600 was added to the revenues.

In the year 1789 it was said "that the collection of the revenue and the maintenance of the peace of the country in the jungle districts are both entrusted to the persons employed on the part of Government now called tannadars, and that as their chief duty is that of sezawals, they are in fact such, and may with as much propriety be distinguished by the one as the other appellation.† The jurisdiction under each of these tannadars is composed of various small pergunnahs, as specified in the account, the proprietors of which have existed time immemorial independent of each other, the greatest part of them, though their possessions are so inconsiderable, bearing the title of Rajah, as far as I understand, by unquestionable right. In 1188 these mehals having become huzzoory, the collections of the whole of them were under the charge of a person appointed by the late Committee of Revenue named Manick Chand, who, finding the sudder allowance insufficient to enable him to carry on the business of collecting, represented this to the zemindars, who agreed to defray the charges stated in the account, and in

* From the Collector to John Shore, Esq., President, and Members of the Revenue Board, dated Midnapore, the 17th January 1788.

† From the Collector to John Shore, Esq., President, &c., Members of the Board of Revenue dated Midnapore, the 4th February 1789.

this manner arose the mofussul establishments. The old records of this Collectorship abound with instances of the former turbulent and disorderly conduct of the zemindars of the jungle mehals, and I have already, gentlemen, given it as my opinion that the restraint established by the appointment of tannadars or sezawals is absolutely necessary to be continued over them."

In the year 1795 it was said the Chuars, headed by Tribhuban Singh, Bir Singh, and other chiefs residing in the Barahabhum, Manbhoom, and Chhlatna jungles, who had never been brought under entire subjection, had to be kept in awe.* The barkandazes on the establishment of the police darogas, it is said, were not always successful in apprehending refractory persons, who assembled in such force as to preclude the possibility of the darogas acting against them unaided by regular troops. And yet, owing to the general ignorance of the country on the part of the regular troops, and owing to the fact that they were composed mostly of men from the upper stations, who invariably got sick if detached for even a short time in the jungles, their employment was deemed inexpedient. On these grounds an officer of the name of Lieutenant Hume, who had long been stationed in Midnapore, proposed a plan of raising a militia, by which the Chuars might be brought under subjection. The difficulty of gaining an honest livelihood was the main cause of the life of plunder and depredations in which the Chuars indulged, and it was generally supposed that by enrolling them as a body of militia they could be converted into useful and peaceable subjects. These militiamen would take the place of the barkandazes who were stationed with the darogas. The scheme had an additional circumstance to recommend it to the favour of Government, for, if introduced, it would have resulted in the reduction of a sum of Rs. 900 in the expenditure on account of the civil establishment, while the military expenditure would be lessened by Rs. 3,294. As was to be expected, the realization of the revenue and the maintenance of peace and order were always very imperfect in the jungle mehals. The ordinary police were always looked upon as perfectly useless in the prevention of crime amongst the wild tribes of the west. When, in 1800, the resumption of the paik jaghirs in the Midnapore district kindled the flame of rebellion throughout the district, the utter inefficiency of the police to cope with the insurgents was made fearfully apparent.† The Board recommended (1) that the landholders of the jungle mehals on the western frontier, or such of them to whom it might be deemed expedient by the Magistrate to grant commissions for the purpose, be vested with a joint charge of the police of their respective estates in concert with the darogas appointed under Regulation XXII of 1793; (2) that the responsibility of the landholders so invested be made similar to that of the landholders in Benares, with an additional local provision to guard against the incursions of the Chuars; (3) that a muchalka be taken from them declaring in specific terms the duties to be performed by them, and binding them to

* From the Magistrate of Midnapore to G. H. Barlow, Esq., Sub-Secretary to Government, Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 11th March 1795.

† Enclosure to the letter from G. Dowdeswell, Secretary, Revenue Board, to T. H. Ernst, Esq., Acting Collector of Midnapore, dated the 7th March 1800.

the performance thereof under the prescribed penalties; (4) that in consideration of their performing such duties, the paikan lands, or lands of any other description which had been resumed in consequence of the proprietors of the land having been exonerated from the charge of the police, be restored to them at the jumma paid for such lands antecedent to the resumption, and that the necessary abatement of assessment be granted in consequence. The Board's propositions were adopted by the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council. It* was then that the Magistrate invested the jungle zemindars with the management of the police in their respective zemindaries, and submitted for the consideration of Government a copy of certain rules he had drawn up and delivered to each of the zemindars. They were rude and illiterate, wholly incapable of comprehending any regulation but the simplest and easiest. Not one of them could be considered qualified for the appointment of police da oga. They were, however, looked up to with respect and veneration by their ryots, and were the only persons capable of managing their estates and defending their vast territories from the depredations of the Chuars and of one another. They were perfectly willing to enter into any engagement that might be required from them for the faithful performance of their duty as police-officers. No resumption of their paikan lands had taken place, or ever could take place consistently with the terms on which the zemindars held their lands in any of the jungle mehals. The revenues payable to Government from the jungle mehals, instead of nine-tenths, sometimes did not amount in general to more than a ninth or a tenth of their produce. The resumption of the paikan lands in the jungles of the Midnapore Rani's estate appeared to have been the principal, if not the sole, cause of the disturbances which had so long prevailed there. The Magistrate issued publications jointly with the acting Collector, inviting the paiks, who had long wandered about the country, and many of whom had become Chuars for want of any other means of subsistence, to come to Midnapore by the 20th April next, in which case they were informed that a settlement would be concluded with them for the paikan lands in the jungles upon the terms on which they formerly held them, and that otherwise the lands would be given upon the same conditions to other persons and never be restored to them. The Magistrate supposed there would be no difficulty in finding as many men as might be required able and willing to serve as paiks, a great many who were formerly so employed in different parts of the district having been deprived of their lands at the time of the decennial settlement.

In 1800 the state of affairs in the zemindari of Barahabhum constituted a good example of what constantly from time immemorial had subsisted in one or other of the jungle mehals.† It was 20 miles long, the same in breadth, and was the wildest and most remote of the jungle mehals. It appeared to contain more Chuars, that is to say paiks, who had during some years committed depredations in the

* From H. Strachey, Magistrate of Midnapore, to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government, Judicial and Revenue Department, Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 9th April 1800.

† From H. Strachey, Magistrate of Midnapore, to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government in the Judicial and Revenue Department, Fort William, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 13th April 1800.

zemindari, than perhaps all the rest of the jungle mehals. Two minors were the proprietors, aged 15 and 16; the estate was managed by their two uncles under the Courts of Wards. Family dissensions prevailed after their father's death, and the youths laid opposing claims to the zemindari, and charged one another with joining the Chuars and laying waste the lands which they claimed and committing murder. The mode adopted by these people in all their quarrels in wreaking vengeance on each other was by joining the Chuars or turbulent and disaffected paiks, or hiring them to commit the most terrible outrages and devastations on those whom they looked upon as hostile to their interests. Several sirdar paiks possessing different views and interests, but all of them disaffected to the Government, disdaining the authority of the Faujdari officers, and many of them outlawed long ago, occupied considerable portions of land and enjoyed profits, some of them nearly equal to what the zemindari yielded to the zemindar; a few of them paid revenue to the managers; all of them occasionally espoused one party or the other, and committed ravages on each other. The climate of Barahabhum was exceedingly unhealthy, and the sepoys who used to be stationed there suffered painfully from jungle fever, and had to be constantly relieved. The Sudder assessment of Barahabhum, Rs. 829, was paid with tolerable regularity, it was so light, notwithstanding the devastations. Barahabhum was never in a state of perfect tranquillity, nor could the zemindar acquire sufficient control over the different descriptions of persons residing there to prevent their committing depredations either on himself, each other, or on the neighbouring zemindars. The sirdar paiks and their followers were the persons who had borne the appellation of Chuars. The sirdars might be considered as the talookdars of Barahabhum, and they had generally acknowledged the zemindar as their chief. Their ancestors had for many generations possessed the lands at present occupied by them; they had of late made considerable encroachments, and several causes had conspired to increase the number of their followers. They derived a large profit from contributions, which they levied not only in Barahabhum, but some of them at a great distance from the zemindari. Lal Singh was the most powerful of the sirdars, and he and his ancestors paid Rs. 250 to the zemindars for their lands. He used to live at a place called Sauri, an almost inaccessible mountain about five kos from Barahabhum and 90 miles from Midnapore. A stone quarry near his house yielded him a revenue of about Rs. 1,000 yearly, and the produce of his lands amounted perhaps to another Rs. 1,000. Every year he levied a small contribution from almost every village in the zemindari. In case of refusal, or the least delay in the payment of "Sukhnandi," the village was infallibly plundered. Lal Singh had other large tracts of land in other zemindaries, some at a great distance from his own residence. These lands he had seized some years before 1800, and maintained himself in the possession of them by threats of laying waste the zemindari in which they were situated. The zemindar of Pachet had found it his interest to grant him several villages in his estate, and he accordingly maintained quiet possession of them, treated his ryots well, and afforded them effectual protection. A few years before 1800 he took possession of ten villages belonging to

Jagannath Dhal, zemindar of Ghatsila. A war ensued between them, and after a long struggle and much slaughter on both sides he was forced to yield to the superior power of the zemindar, return to his own domains, and relinquish the lands he had occupied in Ghatsila. The two minor zemindars of Barahabhum and their adherents respectively used every endeavour to engage this powerful sirdar to support the pretensions of one against the other; and it appears that as soon as the eldest succeeded in gaining him over to his interests, the younger accused his brother of joining the Chuars. Most of the other sirdars in the zemindari at the same time attached themselves to the younger, and all parties proceeded to open hostilities, that is to say, to murder each other, to plunder, lay waste and burn the property in dispute, to depopulate the country as far as lay in their power, and commit every species of outrage and enormity. During the general scene of havoc and disorder, the surburakar, having been robbed and stripped of all he had, and his house being entirely plundered by Lal Singh and other sirdars, escaped to Midnapore. Twenty sebandis who were stationed there by the Magistrate likewise retired precipitately.

Even down to the year 1800, whenever any large body of military used to be sent on the appearance of disturbances and dissensions in the jungle mehals all open hostilities ceased, but each party sallied out from his strongholds as occasion offered and plundered indiscriminately every part of the surrounding zemindaries. The* police were powerless against the Chuars, who, however, treated them with great forbearance. Revenue officers were to them the most obnoxious; a daroga never attempted to summon a sirdar paik or any of his dependants. The only real police were kept up by the zemindars and the sirdar paiks. But if the latter misbehaved themselves, it was impossible to seize them owing to the nature of the country and their retreating to their fastnesses. It was also difficult to expel them. If they retired to the Mahratta country, they soon returned to commit their depredations when the military were withdrawn. They maintained their authority merely by threats over large tracts of country in spite of all the power of the civil Magistrate aided by the military. No tolerable police system could be established in the jungle mehals without the assistance of the sirdars. Unless they received sunnuds, as the zemindars had done, empowering them to act as police-officers, they would have to be encouraged to make peace with the zemindars. Speaking of the zemindars of Manbhoom and Ghatsila, two of the jungle mehals, the Magistrate said that they looked with distrust on the police darogas stationed within their zemindaries.† These officials were quite useless, and were withdrawn; for what could either of them do with ten barkandazes against men who had each a thousand armed men under them and could raise double the number in three or four days? The darogas remaining would breed discontent and disputes. The police in Ghatsila would prove vigorous and efficient in the hands of the zemindar, who knew it to be his interest, and who alone had the

* From H. Strachey, Magistrate, to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government in the Judicial and Revenue Department, Port William; dated Zillah Midnapore, the 13th April 1800.

† From H. Strachey, Magistrate of Midnapore, to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., dated the 18th July 1800.

power to superintend it effectually. The Magistrate hoped to make the zemindars attend to rules and forms by degrees, so that in the end the tranquillity of the jungles should depend on the laws, and not, as it did too much, on the personal character of those who were entrusted with the powers of a police-officer. The zemindar of Ghatsila alone, it was said,* had about 1,500 regular paiks, besides what he could on an emergency raise in his own estate.

The weakness and inefficiency of the former system of police† in the jungles arose, to the best of the Magistrate's judgment, from the zemindars not possessing power in proportion to the interest they had in the peace of the country, that is to say, generally speaking, in proportion to their property. The Magistrate suggested to Government that it was probable the application of the principle (the procuring the assistance of the men of property and influence in preserving the peace) throughout the country would lead to a system of police the most efficient, the most economical, the most suitable to the habits and opinions of the natives, and in all respects the best calculated for their comfort and security.

It appears that the Orissa language was spoken in only two of the jungle mehal‡ where the new police arrangements were proposed to take effect; but even in those two it was never used in writing or in keeping accounts. A peculiar dialect of the Bengali language was used throughout the western jungles. The zemindars were to correspond with the Magistrate in Bengali or any other language they pleased.

No estate could be divided in the jungles;§ the whole devolved to one son, and the younger children had a subsistence provided for them, which was regulated by established custom. Polygamy prevailed to a great degree among the jungle zemindars, most of whom had large families. There were in 1800 a considerable number of younger brothers in many of the zemindari's who, under Regulation II of 1793, might be supposed to be entitled to a portion of the landed estate. But no claims of the kind had been brought forward in the Dewani Adalat. A kind of military chief was required in every zemindari, to whom his ryots might look for protection, who might command his paiks with effect, and whose title should not be doubtful. Two or more chiefs possessing nearly equal power would be continually at variance, and experience had shown that the inhabitants of the jungles, the bulk of whom were accustomed to arms, or rather to robbery and plunder, were ever eager to enter into the contentions of their chiefs, and to adopt any pretext for engaging in quarrels and commencing depredations. The operation of the regulation quoted above would utterly destroy the established hereditary rights of the zemindars, would introduce confusion and uncertainty in many estates, and would not only disable them from preserving the peace, but would perhaps in

* From H. Strachey, Magistrate, to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government in the Judicial and Revenue Department, Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 6th April 1800.

† From the Magistrate to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government in the Judicial and Revenue Department, Fort William, dated the 18th July 1800.

‡ From the Magistrate to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., Secretary to the Government in the Judicial and Revenue Department, Fort William, dated the 18th July 1800.

§ From the Magistrate to H. St. G. Tucker, Esq., dated the 30th October 1800.

some zemindaries render it their interest to break it. On the whole, the Magistrate apprehended there would be little doubt of the expediency of preventing, instead of encouraging, the division of estates in the jungles.

In July 1800 the tehsildars of Balarampur and Janpur were withdrawn, and the jungle zemindars were allowed to pay their revenues direct into the cutcherry at Midnapore. This withdrawal included that of the regular police or thanadars and barkandazes.*

If at a point of time so late as 1800 the Midnapore officials experienced such difficulty and harassment in the management of the jungle mehals, every credit that human judgment and human sympathy can bestow should be awarded to those who in 1767 and subsequent years succeeded in acquiring and settling so strange a country for the Company.

MAHRATTAS.

In April of the year 1767 the Government informed the Resident† that one Subhet had sent out men into different parts of the country to induce sepoys to desert from the Company's battalions and take service with him. To Midnapore he sent one Guzarat Singh, formerly a subadar in Captain Swinton's battalion. Subhet had seven guns at Pataspur, or Pratabpur, under the charge of two European gentlemen,‡ and carriages were being made for them. Several stands of arms, some European soldiers, black cavalry, and a number of sepoys, had been collected, Subhet having fixed upon the aforementioned places as his centres of rendezvous. Mr. Verelst§ (who had become the "Honble Harry Verelst, as President and Governor of Council at Fort William, in February,) warned Mr. Vansittart, and requested him to take into confinement whoever might be found to be included within the above intelligence. As Pataspur was a Mahratta dependency, Mr. Vansittart's exertions were not likely to be successful. In May of this year he suggested to Mr. Verelst that if in the course of his negotiations with the Mahrattas he had any opportunity to obtain that pergunnah for the Company, he should do it. "We might," he said,|| "in exchange give them Bhelorachar, the only pergunnah we possess to the southward of the Subarnrekha. We should gain some advantage by the bargain in point of value, and it would besides render our territories on this side more compact and save us a number of disputes." Mr. Vereist replied, — "I have received your¶ favour of the 5th instant, with regard to the exchange of the pergunnahs you mention. It may be as well delayed, as we are in treaty for the whole Cuttack country, when, if it is necessary, the pergunnah of Pataspur may be put under the orders of the Resident at Midnapore."

* From T. H. Ernst, Collector, to William Cowper, Esq., President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Zillah Midnapore, the 7th July 1800.

† From Harry Verelst to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Fort William, the 24th April 1767.

‡ From Harry Verelst to George Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 28th April 1767.

§ From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, President and Governor, &c., Council at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 9th February 1767.

|| From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, dated Amarsi, the 5th May 1767.

¶ From Harry Verelst to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Boinpure, the 27th May 1767.

In 1768 the Resident addressed the Governor in these words,—“Bovany Churn,* a vakeel who is with me from the Moharbhaj Rajah, has been giving me, as he says, by his master's command, a long history of the intentions of the Mahrattas ; such as I received it, I transmit it to you. It is possible there may not be a word of truth in it. However, the man assured me that he had advanced nothing but what he was absolutely certain of, and I have no particular reason to suspect his veracity. He tells me that in April last his master, Dummooder Bunge, received a letter from Summajee Gunnays, the Nabob of Cuttae, to the following purpose,—‘ That in case the choit was not paid, he should march with his army into Bengal after the rains and ravage the whole country ; that in the meanwhile be intended to quarter his troops in Gurpudda, which is between Jellasure and Balasure, and that he (Dummooder Bunge) must prepare cantonments for them and be ready to join them in due time with his forces.’ To this Dummooder Bunge replied ‘ that rice was at present very dear and scarce in his country, and that it was therefore not advisable to quarter the troops in Gurpudda, as they would not be able to find subsistence there.’ He received no answer to this, but in consequence of it, Keonjhar, which is two or three days’ journey north of Cuttack, has been fixed upon instead of Gurpudda for quartering the troops. The vakeel adds that the same hircarras who brought Summajee Gunnays’ letter for Dummooder Bunge had others for the Patchet Rajah and most of the zemindars on the western borders of Bengal and Behar ; that Summajee Gunnays’ army consists of about 12,000 horse, 6,000 berkundazes, and 1,000 men with fire-locks ; that about the same force under the command of Neloo Pundit will at the same time enter by the way of Ramgar and Patchet, and proceed through Beerbhoom towards Moorshedabad.

“As Dummooder Bunge holds the zemindari of Naibasan, &c., under Midnapore, and is at present somewhat in arrears, I have written to him to demand the immediate payment of his balance. The vakeel says that in consequence of this his uncle, Bulbudder Bunge, will himself repair to Midnapore and explain to me any further particulars that I may have to inquire ; that his master is desirous of shaking off the yoke of the Mahrattas and becoming a dependant of the English ; and that his country is so advantageously situated that with a very little assistance from us he should at any time be able to prevent the Mahrattas from entering into Bengal from the southward. I have told him that I shall be glad to see Bulbudder Bunge ; that he must bring with him Summajee Gunnays’ original letter ; and that I will transmit his representation to you.” The Governor replied,†—“I am obliged to you for your intelligence concerning the designs of the Mahrattas, and desire you will gain further information from the Moharbhaj Rajah. A strict eye should likewise be kept over the actions of the Mahrattas, for though I have great reason to believe that they will not venture to break with us, at this time particularly, yet prudence demands our attention towards their motions.”

Hitherto, whatever may have been the fears and apprehensions that had been felt by the Company's officials owing to the action

* From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, dated Midnapore, the 15th July 1768.

† From Harry Verelst to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 3rd August 1768.

of the Mahrattas, the outward relations subsisting between the two had been of a peaceful character. But in June 1770 the Midnapore authorities were brought into actual and unpleasant contact with the Mahrattas.* The zemindar of Shahbandar, a Mahratta district, paying his revenue at Cuttack, claimed to levy some duties on the rice produced in the pergunnah of Napochar, in chakla Jellasure. When he could not recover the duties by any other means, he sent his people and paiks, surrounded the dwellings and golas of the rice-dealers in Napochar, and extorted what he claimed as arrears of the duties. As he was dependent on Cuttack, Mr. Peiarce did not act immediately against him, but applied for instructions, though he was an insignificant zemindar. When Mr. Peiarce remonstrated and demanded restitution of the money from the Mahrattas, he was told that the matter had been referred to Cuttack, and nothing could be done till orders were received from there. It is not ascertained what was the result of this invasion of the Company's territories.

Here it seems proper to narrate a circumstance which partook of the nature of a scare, and was the cause of considerable disquiet to the head of the Government. In June 1770 the Resident, Mr. Peiarce, wrote† that he had two months previous stationed four harkaras at Cuttack for the purpose of communicating anything interesting. One of them arrived from Cuttack and gave the intelligence that at Khajuri, about 30 kos to the north-east of Cuttack, three very large ships and two sloops disembarked 1,800 black troops, who had encamped on shore; that the ships contained 1,200 Europeans besides, who came ashore daily for exercise; that apparently a quantity of rice was being collected. News also was brought that from Cuttack the Mahrattas had transported 26 pieces of cannon two kos across the river, and that from Nagpur had been sent about 5,000 horse, who were then within a few days' march of Cuttack. The head Mahratta harkara went to meet the people who landed at Khajuri.

Mr. Cartier in reply wrote‡ that he did not believe the intelligence from Cuttack, chiefly because Mr. Allen had not given any notice of it. It would have made such a buzz "that the man must have neither ears nor head if he has not heard of it." Mr. Cartier did not credit the intelligence, but at the same time took measures as if it was true, and desired to be informed whether other reports confirmed or disproved the intelligence. Mr. Peiarce was to write to no person but Mr. Cartier on the subject. Mr. Allen still remained silent on the subject; and in a subsequent letter§ Mr. Cartier said,—“If you hear more, lose not a moment's time in giving me information. I am, with esteem, sir, your most obedient servant, John Cartier.”

It is needless to explain that the intelligence supplied to the Resident had no foundation: in fact, one of the harkaras, who had absconded had supplied information which was subsequently ascertained to be pure invention. Mr. Peiarce sent five other harkaras to

From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 5th June 1770.

† From Mr. Peiarce to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, dated Midnapore, the 16th June 1770.

‡ From John Cartier to Mr. John Peiarce, dated Calcutta, the 18th June 1770.

§ From John Cartier to Mr. John Peiarce, dated Calcutta, the 21st June 1770.

Jajpore, where the delinquent lived, in order to "kidnap" him the moment he made his appearance, and to bring him to Midnapore, where he would meet with proper punishment.*

It is incidentally mentioned† in the records of the year 1768 that the Mahrattas had in former times attacked Mr. Johnstone, the first Resident in Midnapore, after the cession of the province by the Nabob.

FRENCH.

In 1769 a French gentleman, the first European, was appointed Resident‡ on the part of the French Company for the provision of their investment, to be stationed at Mohanpur, in the province of Jellaspore, and to receive his instructions directly from Chandernagore. As all assortments of white cloth of the Hon'ble Company's investment were manufactured at Mohanpur, it was suggested that the influence of a French Resident at that place might be prejudicial to the Company's investment, and also hereafter be the occasion of many disputes. The Government (which consisted of Messrs. Verelst, Cartier, Smith, Alexander, Charlton, Russell, Rumbold, Hare, and Floyer,)§ thought proper to withdraw the indulgence they had granted to the French in 1765 to have sepoys at their several subordinates. They received assurances from the "Directeur and Council" of Chandernagore that the latter had in consequence ordered the sepoys to be reduced; and they desired the Resident to keep a watchful eye over them at his factory, and give immediate information if the French attempted to elude the Government resolutions. By September 1769|| the greater part of the sepoys who were stationed with Monsieur Aussant, the French Resident at Mohanpur, were removed, but he had still five with him. The time was pregnant with suspicions of the designs of the French, as will be described below, and the Government, halting midway between boldness and fear, in face of its wishes expressed to its Resident, actually reprimanded him a year later for remonstrating with a French agent for travelling about with armed sepoys in his escort.

Early in 1770 the jealousy and suspicion which had already begun to be manifested on the part of the Company towards the French at Chandernagore made themselves known in a more marked manner. In March the Resident¶ wrote to the Collector-General the following letter:—"Dear Sir, when I was in Calcutta in October I remember you told me that the Board intimated to the Council of Chandernagore that they must recall the French gentlemen who were dispersed about the country in the quality of Residents, and that in consequence the chap who is at Mohanpur in my territories would travel back to Chandernagore. I think it proper therefore to inform you that the

* From John Pearce to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 13th July 1770.

† From the Resident to Richard Beecher Esq., dated Midnapore, the 19th July 1768.

‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble Governor and Council, dated Midnapore, the 29th March 1769.

§ From Messrs. Harry Verelst, John Cartier, James Alexander, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, to George Vansittart, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th August 1769.

|| From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, President and Governor, dated Midnapore, the 4th September 1769.

¶ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 19th March 1770.

chap is still at Mohanpur, and has some sepoy with him." Previous to this communication the head of the Government, Mr. Cartier, had written to Mr. Peiarce in these* words: "To provide against possible as well as probable events is the duty of every Government; for which reason I think it necessary to desire you would, on receiving this, order two of the companies from your battalion towards the great river, one to "Ingilee" and the other to Khajri, and each company to be commanded by an officer. My design in giving you this order it is necessary to explain. We have the strongest reason to suspect the views of the French towards this country. When these views may take place is a matter of much uncertainty, but it is best to be on our guard beforehand. It is very likely, nay most certain, when they do arrive, they will stand in need of many things which the country can most amply supply—provisions, draft and carriage bullocks, &c. To prevent their procuring any of these must be the object of the detachments at Ingilee and Khajri, either by driving the cattle at least twenty miles inland, or destroying those, with other kind of provisions, which cannot be removed out of their reach. It is likewise expected from you, on the first intelligence you may receive of an armament being in the river, that the remaining part of the battalion will be immediately detached towards the river to harass any parties that may land. If they rendezvous at Kukrahati (I mean your battalion, I apprehend it will be the most eligible situation they can take post in. Should their shipping pass the mouth of the Ganges, it may likewise be necessary for the battalion not only to pass that river, but the "Dumoodarsaw," and co-operate with any troops that may be posted on the other side, but this latter part will not be recommended should your province be threatened by any immediate danger.

"To prevent any mistakes in the officers commanding these detachments carrying the letter of their orders to an extreme, it is not intended preventing single foreign ships (French or Dutch) receiving every assistance of provisions which the country can afford."

Accordingly Lieutenant Rooke was sent to Hijli, Mr. Peiarce having addressed him in the following† strain:—"Having orders from the Governor to direct an officer with a company of sepoy to proceed to Hijli, you will please, to take command of that company and proceed to the aforesaid place without delay, and there guide yourself agreeably to the following instructions. There being strong reasons to suspect the views of the French towards this country, and that it is not improbable if they do arrive, but that they may land their forces and stores with an intention of proceeding by land, you will therefore in the first place have, on the most convenient spots, constant sentries placed to give you immediate intelligence of the appearance of any armament making towards the mouth of the Ganges; which should there be, your next and principal object must be to prevent their procuring any supplies of draft or carriage bullocks, provisions, &c., which you must do by driving away the cattle inland at least twenty miles, or else by destroying those, with every other kind of provisions, which cannot be removed out of their reach. The better to effect this, upon

* From John Cartier to John Peiarce, Esq., dated 3rd March 1770.

† From John Peiarce to Lieutenant George Rooke, dated Midnapore, the 7th May 1770.

your arrival at Hijli I would recommend to you to get intelligence where the principal herds of cattle are, and the principal granaries, that you might not be at a loss, upon the approach of the French, where to send your sepoys to accomplish the ends laid down as above. You will not fail to give me immediate intelligence in case of the appearance of any French shipping. Should they pass by your station still proceeding up the river, you will march towards Kukrahati, which will be the place of rendezvous, and there wait until such time as you may receive further orders from me. You will observe that the purport of the above instructions to you are to distress the French by the means laid down, in case of the certain appearance of a French armament. It is not intended preventing single foreign ships, whether French or Dutch, from receiving every assistance of provisions which the country can afford, nor, without the real appearance of necessity, to hurt the country people by driving away or destroying their cattle and provisions."

Lieutenant* Bateman was similarly sent to Khajri. It was intended that if an armament was discovered in the river, Mr. Peiarce should detach the remaining part of the battalion in order to harass any parties of the French that might land. In that case Kukrahati was to be made the place of rendezvous, on the understanding that there was no immediate danger threatened to the two provinces of Midnapore and Jellasure.

Hijli,† where the cutcherry was held, was called "Caunty Ingillee;" but as that place was too far distant from the river or sea for Mr. Rooke's purpose, he was ordered to proceed to Amirabad, two kos nearer the river than "Caunty Ingillee."

There was another "Hijli," which the natives called "Tuckt Ingillee," five kos distant from "Caunty," from which it was divided by the Rasulpur river. It was here that the cutcherry used formerly to be held, until it was removed to "Caunty." "Tuckt Ingillee" was too near a station to Lieutenant Bateman, and was laid aside in preference for Amirabad. Mr. Bateman at Khajri was told‡ to keep in view whatever hoards of rice the French might have collected, and in case they attempted to remove it, to have his harkaras out as spies to bring him intelligence where it might be lodged. It was not deemed advisable to act any further in the matter, as the rice might be private French property. Mr. Bateman was finally directed to take no apparent notice of what rice was collected, unless there should be the appearance of a French armament or any number of shipping making towards the river, in which case he was to put his former orders into execution. Mr. Bateman had written§ to say that upon inquiry he found there was a great deal of rice at Khajri belonging to the French, and several peons with it. As the people seemed to be quite under the French, he thought it not improbable that they might move the rice into the jungles. Should that be the case, he feared he

* From John Peiarce to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 9th May 1770.

† From John Peiarce to Lieutenant Rooke, dated Midnapore, the 9th May 1770.

‡ From John Peiarce to E. Baber, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 17th May 1770.

§ From Mr. Bateman to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Khajri 14th May 1770, being he enclosure to a letter from Mr. Peiarce to Mr. " " 770.

in lieu of his own the Government showed its displeasure at the conduct of the Resident; the French Government of Chandernagore having remonstrated with it on the alleged detention of their agent, and requested that their emissaries should not be stopped and exposed to affronts and mortifications. The Resident* was told that "the French had undoubtedly a right to send their agents to the different arangs for the protection and encouragement of their trade without any hinderance or molestation on our part." Apparently Mr. Baber, the Resident, considered that he was empowered to stop and detain the four French sepoys in the fort, though he did not actually proceed to that extreme. The Frenchman refused† to take English sepoys with him, as it might be thought that he was a prisoner.

It is mentioned‡ in the records that the French had arangs or factories at Canicola, Kirpai, Monneepore, and Balasore.

FAMINE.

The notice of the first authenticated famine in Midnapore, which was severely felt, not only in the district itself, but also in those surrounding, is found in the records of 1769 and 1770. The measures which were taken to relieve the people are also detailed. Before the close of the year 1769 Mr. Vansittart had reported§ that the great want of rain which the country laboured under had put it out of his power to settle the land revenue on as advantageous terms as he had done the last year. The price of rice had become unusually high, being one rupee for 22 seers at Midnapore, notwithstanding an embargo which had been laid on the export of the article. By all accounts which the Resident had been able to procure, the losses in the crop throughout the district were very considerable. This report was made on the 24th December, but in the previous October the Secretary to Government had addressed|| the Collector-General in the following terms:—"The alarming accounts which the Hon'ble the President and Council have heard of the distress of the country for want of grain from the great drought that has prevailed, and the melancholy prospect that this distress will increase, have determined them to take every measure in their power to provide against the fatal consequences that are to be apprehended. None can be more fatal than monopolies of grain at such a juncture, and it is greatly to be feared they will be aimed at. I have therefore the commands of the Hon'ble the President and Council to acquaint you that they particularly recommended to you to exert your utmost endeavours to detect and prevent, as much as lies in your power, so fatal a measure.

"With this prospect before their eyes, they behold with much concern the distress that the poor inhabitants must be involved in, and

* From Messrs. Cartier, Middleton, and Claud Russell, to Edward Baber, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 13th November 1770.

† From Mr. Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 27th November 1770.

‡ From Messrs. Cartier, Middleton, and Russell, to Edward Baber, Esq., dated Fort William, the 13th November 1770.

§ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 24th December 1769.

|| From Edward Baber, Secretary, to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Fort William, the 23rd October 1769.

they are anxious to devise means to afford them every possible relief under this distressful calamity. They do therefore earnestly desire that you will give every encouragement in your power to the ryots to cultivate pulse, gram, barley, and every sort of grain that can be raised in the dry season, and, in short, to take every measure they can think of to supply the want of rice and that they may judge will contribute to relieve the necessities of the poor." And in the same month the Collector-General had solicited* the utmost endeavours of the Resident to prevent the distress.

In the middle of the year 1770 Mr. Peiarce, who had been appointed provisionally the Resident† at the Midnapore Factory, said that "there were a great number of poor objects almost daily perishing on account of the great scarcity and dearness of provisions." He therefore made an application on their behalf for permission to distribute, at the Company's expense, among the most necessitous a daily subsistence of rice. It was explained that 18 or 20 maunds a day would save the lives of several. Many of the poor had come from Burdwan and other parts of Bengal in a very starving condition, in hopes of finding the scarcity less in Midnapore than in their own country, and it was reported that many hundreds had travelled to the Mahratta districts with the same expectations.

On the 10th June the Collector-General addressed Mr. Peiarce in these words‡:—"The consideration of its being the duty of every Government to alleviate the sufferings of the poor in the time of a general calamity such as the present had induced the Board to authorize the Collector-General to distribute rice at Calcutta and Burdwan to real objects of distress at the Company's expense.

"At this time the effects of the calamity had not extended to the districts of Midnapore, but as you have represented that they are now felt severely, the same means of relief become necessary; and you will therefore be pleased to act accordingly, taking care to deal with a sparing, not a lavish, hand. The sum allotted for Burdwan was about Rs. 20 to 25 per day in rice."

On the 10th of July 1770 Mr. Peiarce wrote again,§ saying,—“In my letter of the 5th June I represented to you, sir, the poor miserable objects daily perishing through hunger, and in the behalf of such numbers of poor I requested your permission to distribute a daily allowance of rice amongst them. I have not had the honor of a reply, yet, sir, I have taken the liberty of construing your silence into a consent, as the cause is real charity; and have inserted in the charges collections the amount of rice given to the necessitous here.” Finally, on the 10th of July, Mr. Peiarce wrote,|| saying,—“I have been favoured with yours, sir, of the 10th of June, and I shall be very careful not to abuse the Company's charity to the poor by acting with a lavish hand in the distribution.”

* From James Alexander to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 31st October 1769.

† From John Peiarce to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 5th June 1770.

‡ From Claud Russell, Collector-General, to Mr. John Peiarce, at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 10th June 1770.

§ From John Peiarce to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 10th July 1770.

|| From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 10th July 1770.

The medium price of rice in the province of Midnapore from September 1769 to September 1770 was as follows * :—September 35 seers for the rupee, October 23, November 25, December 22, January 22½, February 20½, March 15½, April 16, May 14½, June 12½, July 12, August 12, September 21¼.†

The following extract, exposing some apprehensions regarding the famine which were felt by the Court of Directors in England, will fitly conclude this subject ‡ :—

“157. As the famine which has raged to so great a degree throughout the provinces could not but excite in every humane breast the utmost compassion for the miseries which the poor must have suffered from it, we will not admit a thought that our superior servants have not afforded every aid which humanity could dictate, and employed every means in their power to prevent such a calamity from having worse than its natural effects; but as we are not equally free from an apprehension that, even amidst the distress to which a kingdom was reduced, and the depopulation which was in prospect, there may have been others in the Company's service or under its protection so far influenced by avarice as to monopolize the chief articles of the support of the poor, we therefore enjoin you to send us a full and exact account of the quantity of rice which, during the progress of this calamity, has been exported into other parts from those provinces which suffered least by it, together with the name of each proprietor of the rice so exported, as well as the quantity thereof. And we expect that, unbiassed by partiality, you extend your inquiries to the utmost and transmit to us all possible information with respect to a proceeding which may have dishonoured our favour and protection.”

SCIENTIFIC.

In the year 1768 a request was made on behalf of the Royal Society to the Company which, in memory of recent events, may be said to have an extraordinary degree of interest.

The request was not conveyed to India till the following year, and its nature may be best learnt from the language of the Society itself.§ “In obedience to the orders of the Royal Society, I take the liberty to apply to you in their name, and solicit your concurrence in an affair of some importance to the advancement of science and the honour of this country. The next transit of the planet of Venus over the disc of the Sun, which is expected in June 3rd 1769, will afford the only means of ascertaining some of the principal and hitherto unknown elements in astronomy, and of improving both geography and navigation. The first phenomenon of this kind ever taken notice of was observed above a century ago by an Englishman, and the last, which happened in

* From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 4th October 1770.

† The weight of the seer is not given, but as the seer of 80 tolas sicca weight was used in salt weighments, it is probable that it is the standard here also.

‡ Extract of a General letter received from England, per Lord Mansfield, dated 10th April 1770.

§ From M. Maty, Secretary, Royal Society, to the Hon'ble East India Company, dated British Museum, the 22nd January 1768.

1761, excited the curiosity of most nations in Europe. But on account of the war, and the want or inexperience of observers, the fruits expected from this observation, and foretold by the great Dr. T. Lalley, were but partly obtained. An opportunity of the same kind will again offer itself, and as it is the last which the present and succeeding generations will have for at least a hundred years to come, it is to be hoped, and indeed expected, that an universal emulation will extend itself all over the continent on so interesting an occasion. The honour of this nation seems particularly concerned in not yielding the palm to their neighbours, and the Royal Society intends to exert all its strength and influence in order to have this observation made with the greatest accuracy, and if possible in the most uniform and satisfactory manner, in various parts of the British dominions. The experience which they have had of the readiness of this potent Company to forward every great and national undertaking does not permit them to doubt of their taking a share in this. They therefore hope that it will be early and earnestly recommended to such of the Company's servants at Madras, Bombay, Bencoolen, or other places in the East Indies as have been accustomed to astronomical observations to prepare for and exert themselves in this, as the phenomenon will be visible, at least during some part of it, in all the settlements of the Company. Mr. Astronomer Royal has promised to send to this Hon'ble Board those directions which will appear to him the most useful in order to make this observation with the greatest precision and advantage. He desired me in the meanwhile to transmit to you a list of the instruments which would be necessary for that purpose in each place of observation, viz. :—

(1) A reflecting telescope of two feet focus, with an apparatus of smoked glasses.

(2) A pendulum clock.

(3) An astronomical quadrant of one foot radius at least, or, in lieu of it, an equal altitude instrument."

The Company* being desirous by all means of concurring in an affair of such importance to the advancement of science recommended the President and Council to direct all and every person in the service of the Company who was conversant in astronomy, and to desire in the Company's name, by particular notice or otherwise, all other persons whatsoever under their influence, properly qualified for the purpose, to exert themselves in making the most careful and accurate observations upon the said transit, and to deliver their reports to them in writing to be transmitted to the Company at least in duplicate by the earliest opportunities.

Extract from the Hon'ble Company's General letter dated 16th March 1768, being the enclosure to a letter from Edward Baber to Mr. George Vausittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 11th February 1769.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENTS, LAND REVENUE, &c.

Period 1764—1770.

IN the second chapter are given the names of those *pergunnahs* contained in the Midnapore and Jellasure provinces, which most probably were peaceably transferred to the Company on the occasion of Mir Kasim's grant. There are also given the names of those *pergunnahs* which, as part of the Midnapore province, were subjugated and settled in the interval between 1764 and 1770. No additions were made during that time to the Jellasure province beyond the limits which were recognized in 1764.

The earliest records connected with the revenue administration of the two provinces explain that in the end of the year 1764 Mr. Anselm Beaumont, the Resident, was directed* to proceed immediately upon forming the *tashkhis* for the current year, and settling the terms of the collections in such a manner as might appear most advantageous to the Company. The President and Members of Council said,—“ We observe that from the time the Company were first put in possession of the province of Midnapore we have met with the greatest obstruction from the *zemindars* in the collection of the rents, and have always found them ready to join our enemies whenever they have had an opportunity ; we therefore think the Company's possessions in that country would be much better secured and the rents ascertained by entirely annulling the authority of the *zemindars* and allowing them a fixed income for their maintenance by assignments of lands, and appointing officers everywhere on the part of the Company to collect the rents immediately from the *ryots*. But as this is a step upon which we shall not determine without mature deliberation, we desire your opinion first on the subject. We entirely agree with you in opinion,” they said, apparently in reference to a letter previously written by Mr. Beaumont, which is not forthcoming, “ that the granting of leases for a term of years is the only method to encourage cultivation of waste lands. You will therefore form the terms upon which leases may be granted, and forward them to us for our final resolution. The forming a *hustabood* is a point of so much importance to the Company that we do not know any service on which the Chief ” (another designation of the Resident) “ can be better employed. We therefore direct him to proceed on this service, and in general that he take every method in his power to attain a true knowledge of the revenues without putting the Company to a heavy expense.”

The sentence first quoted conclusively shows that the *zemindars* were not looked upon in 1764 as mere collectors of revenue, with no vested rights or interests in their estates ; they were considered

* From Henry Vansittart, J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, Warren Hastings, R. Leycester, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 6th November 1764.

proprieters, and when deprived of the management, were entitled to an allowance for their support from the assets of their zemindaries.

It has been suggested that the zemindars of 1764 might, without having any proprietary rights, have been collectors, but collectors possessing vested interests; a sort of middlemen between Government and the ryots, who had a kind of prescriptive right to retain charge of the estates they held, provided no valid objections existed against their continuing to manage them, and who, when deprived of the management, had a right to look for an allowance for their support from the assets. This view, though inaccurate, is not altogether unsupported by examples; for in May 1800,* when the leases granted for the farm of pergunnahs Doro Dumnun, Majnamutta, &c., the zemindari of Rani Suganda and of Jallamutta, Keoramal, &c., the zemindari of Nar Narain Rae expired with the Wilaiti year 1207 (September 1800), the zemindars declined to engage or to become responsible for the assessment. The Collector, or more properly speaking the Salt Agent, recommended that the several mehals should be again let in farm for such a period as the Board might judge proper to direct. Mr. Chapman suggested that the farmers, for the most part a kind of hereditary lease-holders, who by the end of the current year should have punctually discharged their rents, should be permitted to continue their respective farms at the existing jumma. Here, therefore, in the case of these two estates there were both proprietors and a sort of hereditary farmers. But against this one instance numberless expressions can be adduced on the other side. In a minute by Sir John Clavering and Mr. Francis, Members of the Revenue Board, dated the 16th July 1777, they say,—“We are of opinion that the lands should be restored to the zemindars, whose unalienable property they are, upon a reasonable jumma.” But perhaps much weight would not attach, in the opinion of most readers, to the views of these gentlemen.

The Court of Directors in a general letter† from Europe in 1777 said,—“Having revoked our orders to let the lands to the highest bidders, and signified our pleasure to have them occupied by hereditary zemindars, where it can be done with security to the revenue, and being desirous that they should enjoy their zemindaries on terms sufficiently moderate to enable them to maintain a degree of respect among their dependants, we direct that you keep this idea in view in every agreement to be made with the same zemindars.”

Again, in 1785, the Hon'ble Board, consisting of John Macpherson and John Stables, said,—“We are clearly of opinion‡ that every farmer possessing under the Company's seal and the approbation of this Board a farm granted to him for a fixed period of years, and who has faithfully performed all his engagements to Government according to

* From Charles Chapman, Agent, Hijli Division, to G. Dowdeswell, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Contai, the 24th May 1800.

† Enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, J. Clavering, Richard Barwell, and P. Francis, to Mr. Alexander Higginson, Chief, &c., Provincial Council of Revenue at Burdwan, dated Fort William, the 29th July 1777.

‡ Extract of a letter from the Hon'ble Board, dated the 22nd of June 1785, being enclosure to the letter from Samuel Charters and Thomas Graham to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 15th September 1785.

his kabooliyat, cannot be legally dispossessed of his farm; nor is it the meaning of the Act of Parliament that such engagements should be broken, the object of this Act being to restore, after full investigation of the case, zemindars and talookdars to their rights, of which they have been unjustly dispossessed. But we are likewise of opinion that the engagements to farmers, which are not for more than one year, and which only contain a clause of continuance from year to year on good behaviour, in the nature of mokurreree leases, are not to stand in opposition to the claims of the zemindars, if those claims are not invalidated by (*sic*) the forfeiture or real incapacity."

Besides these proofs in support of the proprietary rights of the zemindars of 1764, others quite as strong will be adduced in the course of the narrative of transactions.

Mr. Watts, who succeeded Mr. Beaumont before the end of the year, in an address to the head of the Government, said,—* "You will receive from Mr. Beaumont certain observations on the pergunnahs of the Midnapore province which he and I have concerted together. As the season for securing the revenues is already begun, I request the favour you will send your final resolutions concerning the tashkhis as soon as possible. Mr. Beaumont joins with me in opinion that the Jellalore district requires a general inspection, without which it will not be possible to ascertain with any certainty the value of the large tracts of land in that province, and that the best method to settle the tashkhis will be by visiting the several pergunnahs and settling with the zemindars on the spot." The two gentlemen had sat in deliberation on the measures that were necessary to improve the collections of land revenue from both the provinces of Midnapore and Jellalore, and they submitted the result for the information and orders of Government.†

"In pergunnah Midnapore the rent for the Orissa year 1171 was fixed at Alla Sicca Rs. 41,157-2, and there appears to have been paid into the Company's treasury that year Alla Sicca 46,172-14, Rs. 5,015-12 of which were in part of a balance for the year 1168. We therefore think that this pergunnah will not admit of any considerable increase while that balance remains unpaid. We are therefore of opinion that if this balance was given up the rent might be augmented; and we are induced to recommend the giving up this balance, as it gives occasion to the zemindar to oppress the tenants, and frequently to make unjust claims on that account.

"Kashijora pergunnah has paid its full rent for the year 1171, amounting to Alla Sicca 1,07,209-15-14, and we judge this would admit of some little increase.

"Shapur pergunnah has paid its full rent for 1171, amounting to Alla Sicca 32,825, and we are of opinion this pergunnah would admit of an increase. These two pergunnahs may be justly esteemed among the best of this chuckla. Incursions of the Mahrattas have rendered them very thin of inhabitants, so that a great part remains

* From Hugh Watts to the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq., President and Governor, &c., Members of the Committee, Lands, dated Midnapore, the 11th November 1764.

† From A. Beaumont to the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq., President and Governor, &c., Committee of Lands, dated Fort William, the 11th December 1764.

uncultivated. We therefore would recommend every encouragement to be given to the zemindar to induce him to invite people into his country, as the only means of cultivating the waste lands, and, if properly attended to, must in a few years be greatly improved, and will then admit of a considerable increase.

"Khandar pergunnah. There is a considerable balance due from this pergunnah, which has proceeded from the extravagance and negligence of the zemindars; but as it is a very fine pergunnah, with care and attention it will soon recover. Mr. Beaumont therefore has taken the management out of the hands of the zemindars, and has appointed tehsildars to collect the rents from the ryots, which we judge to be the best method to be pursued for the present.

"Amarsi pergunnah has never been able to pay the tashkis, therefore tehsildars have been appointed in the same manner as at Khandar, and we think they should be continued.

"Tuppeh Narajol has paid its full rent for the year 1171, being Alla Sicca 8,513, and it is our opinion this pergunnah may be augmented.

"Sabang pergunnah, we think, will admit of an increase.

"Kedar pergunnah.—It has been with great difficulty that the zemindar has been able to pay his rent for the year 1171: therefore we do not think this pergunnah will bear any increase.

"Kharrakpur pergunnah, we are of opinion, will not bear any increase.

"Mayanachara pergunnah, we are of opinion, will admit of an increase.

"Kutubpur pergunnah has paid its full tashkis, but we think will not admit of an augmentation without distressing the zemindars and ryots.

"Dantamutta pergunnah.—As this pergunnah has always been in arrears, a tehsildar is appointed as at Khandar. Bhunyamutta, Bajarpur, Kotasirsa, Dhariinda, Gagnapur, Fatehpur, Balarampur. The above seven pergunnahs may be increased.

"Pergunnahs Uttar Behar, Partabhan, Julkapur, Tuppeh Jamna, Matkudpur.—The above five pergunnahs will not, we think, bear any increase. On the contrary we apprehend it will be difficult to collect the full rents.

"Patna Jautts has brought in the year 1171 Alla Sicca 724, the full tashkis.

"Bomjan and Batetaki lands were granted to a number of paiks, with their sirdars, to be at the service of the Foujdar of Midnapore. Mr. Burdett sent a tehsildar to the different pergunnahs to form a hustibood of them, and which was settled at Rs. 12,000, exclusive of Rs. 5,531 paid into the Sair and thana Narayangar. The talookdar of the Bomjan lands not being able to pay but a very small part of this tashkis, Mr Beaumont took them out of his hands, and gave them to another talookdar for Rs. 4,900 for the year 1172; so that we hope to receive from these lands about Rs. 11,000, all of which is a clear gain to the Company, since this chackla was first ceded to them, and is accounted for under the heads of thana Narayangar and Seway tashkis. Notwithstanding this appears to be an advantageous method, yet we are of opinion, when the lands are properly settled, they

should be annexed to the respective pergunnahs where they are situated, as it will be attended with very little extraordinary expense to the zemindars in collecting these rents; whereas they being distributed in all the pergunnahs, the present renters are obliged to keep servants in every pergunnah to collect the rents, which must be attended with a considerable expense, and which would be mostly saved by being annexed to their respective pergunnahs; consequently, these lands would soon admit of an increase.

"Sair Narayangar, &c. All the sairs we had thoughts of recommending to be put up at outcry, but we fear that many inconveniences and oppressions might arise from it: we therefore think it best to continue them, as at present, under the zemindars, as we do not apprehend the increase, if any, would be considerable.

"Chackla Jellasure, we think, requires the particular inspection of the Chief. We therefore would recommend that Mr. Watts should visit all the principal pergunnahs, and adjust the tashkis upon the spot."

The Committee,* in reply, directed Mr. Watts to order the zemindars to attend, that the tashkhis of the current year might be settled. He said "the season is too far advanced, and the heavy rains have so totally ruined many parts of the country that I am apprehensive an increase can hardly be made at present. On the contrary, I understand, many of the zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars, are preparing petitions for an abatement of their rent for losses sustained by the overflowings of the waters. The reasons they will urge are, 1st, that many tracts of lands have been so totally destroyed that their tenants are utterly unable to pay any part of their rents, and even are so distressed that they are obliged to allow something for the support of their families. This I have great reason to believe very true from what I have seen while in the pergunnah of Khandar. I have directed an account of the losses sustained in that pergunnah to be made out and sent by the different deedars. I shall send an ameen to examine into the truth of their reports before I lay them before you.

"2ndly.—The cheapness of grain throughout all the pergunnahs will make it difficult for them to collect the full rents from the tenants whose lands have not met so total ruin; also that they shall suffer greatly by it in their comar (khamar) lands.

"The annulling the authority of the zemindars and allowing them a fixed income, and appointing officers on behalf of the Company to collect the rents from the tenants, I am afraid, would be very prejudicial to the country. They are so reduced that it is out of their power to do harm to the Company's affairs, and if encouraged (which granting leases will do), they well may be of great service. The assignment or allowance for their maintenance also to the zemindars and chowdries, with the charges of the collections, must greatly exceed the increase of revenues; for if such a scheme takes place, and the lands made the property of the Company, I believe I do not exceed in saying that about 3,000 families in justice should be maintained by us; that is, so many would be deprived of lands which they have either held for many generations or have bought of the zemindars.

* From H. Watts to the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, President and Governor, &c., Members of the Committee of Lands, dated Madnapore, the 22nd November 1764.

Since this country has been ceded to the Company it has flourished, and will continue to do so as long as the zemindars and talookdars find either mildness of our government; but if we are too hard or oppressive, there is great reason to expect it will rather decline.

"I have been to visit the pergunnah of Khandar, and was in hopes to have found a hustabood of that pergunnah; but there are none but of the Collsha lands, which would not be sufficient to make good the tashkis, and to form a new hustabood and jumma bundee must but be attended with a very great expense. Besides, if we let leases to the zemindars, such a step would make them suspect the lease was only made to increase their rent; that as soon as it was expired, or it suited our conveniency, we would deprive them of our zemindari. I would therefore have your permission to defer it for the present, till I have conversed with the people and seen more of the country. I also promise to lay before you early next year a complete plan for the settling the tashkis for the future year, for which purpose I will visit the pergunnahs as soon as the season and business will permit.

"I request the favour you will order to be sent me as soon as possible Mr. Johnstone's accounts currents with the different pergunnahs, from which he found his tashkhis."

Later in the year, in December, the Government decided* that as the collection of the balances due from the zemindar of the pergunnah of Midnapore for the Orissa year 1168 was made a handle by the zemindar for great exactions on the ryots, the whole of the balances was to be given up; but an advance was to be made in the tashkhis of that pergunnah for the current year equivalent thereto, "or," said they, "as far as you may think it will admit of." As that pergunnah appeared to have recovered itself greatly since the establishment of the Residency at Midnapore, it was hoped that it would easily bear the advance. Mr. Watts already had been directed to settle the tashkhis of the current year, and it was said that therefore no present resolution for annulling the authority of the zemindars appeared necessary, nor was it the intention of Government to do so while they paid up the tashkhis. When the increase that might be made on the tashkhis of the several pergunnahs was laid before the President and Council, they would be able, they said, to judge how far it would be advantageous to continue the leases to the zemindars "agreeable to those tashkhis" for a fixed number of years.

In the same month of December the Resident, Mr. Watts, reported† that the pergunnahs of Amarsi and Dantamutta were not able to pay the tashkhis of the past year; in fact, Amarsi had never paid it, and there were balances against it, including Pulbandi, amounting to Rs. 18,650-8-10 for 1168, 1170, and 1171, no part of which, it was feared, would be recovered. In 1169 the tashkhis had been reduced to about Rs. 13,500. All the circumstances showed that the country could not pay so heavy a tashkhis without the greatest oppression on the zemindars and talookdars and ryots, who were really so poor as not to be able to

* From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, John Johnstone, and R. Leycester, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 11th December 1764.

† From H. Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, Esq., President and Governor at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 28th December 1764.

advance anything. Therefore, taking an agreement from them could answer no end but the accumulating of balances. Mr. Watts recommended that Amarsi be settled for Rs. 25,000 for five years, and security should be taken for the payment, but no part of the old balances should be asked for, as the sum was more than was ever collected. Dantanutta also was in balance for 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, altogether Rs. 4,270, nor could it pay its tashkhis; Rs. 700 should be abated, and then the rents would be paid up, and the zemindars and talookdars, &c., be relieved from inconveniences attending demands which they were unable to comply with. The country was thin of inhabitants, and scarcely cultivated. The zemindars, chowdries, and talookdars of Khandar, were reduced to extremities. However, they were willing to engage to pay the tashkhis agreeably to the terms of the past year, and to liquidate the balances in three yearly payments if Mr. Watts would recall the tehsildars, "which," Mr. Watts said in his address to Government, "if I have your approbation I would comply with, for I have so secured everything that they have nothing to support themselves with."

The foregoing notes describe with reasonable diffuseness the action taken by the Midnapore authorities in 1764 in the land revenue administration of the province. Before the close of the following year Mr. Watts was relieved by Mr. Graham,* who, on receiving charge of the Midnapore factory, informed the Government that three months of the new year had nearly elapsed, and that the present was the proper season for regulating the tashkhis of the lands. He therefore suggested that instructions might be afforded him. In reply† he was directed not to settle the collections for less than what the lands had yielded in the previous year in the district. He was to inform himself and make such advances as upon inquiry he might judge the lands would bear consistently with the good of the country. In a subsequent letter‡ Mr. Graham was informed that Mr. Verelst was appointed Supervisor of the Collections of Midnapore on the same footing as at Burdwan. Mr. Graham was to come to no positive agreement with the farmers until Mr. Verelst's arrival. There was great reason to hope that the collections might be very considerably increased without over-rating the lands or laying the people under any real grievance. Mr. Graham was to make the strictest inquiry into the actual value of the lands, in order that he might assist the Supervisor with such intelligence as might enable him to let them upon leases more advantageous than had hitherto been granted. In reply to the orders first received, Mr. Graham reported§ that he had summoned the several zemindars to repair to Midnapore for the purpose of adjustment of the tashkhis, when such an increase would be levied upon the present settlement as it might appear the lands could yield without risk of distressing the ryots.

* From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 3rd December 1765.

† From Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, John Carnac, H. Verelst, and H. Watts, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th December 1765.

‡ From Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, J. Carnac, and H. Verelst, to John Graham, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 20th December 1765.

§ From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 20th December 1765.

The cause of Mr. Watts' removal from Midnapore was the belief that the business of the Midnapore province was not of sufficient importance to require the presence and direction of a Member of the Board. Mr. Watts, however, was allowed to remain in Midnapore,* for three months, if his private business should require his continuance there for some time.

Mr. Graham took exception to Mr. Verelst's appointment; for he said†,—“I am sorry to be given to understand by this resolution that Your Lordship, &c., gentlemen, deem me unequal to the appointment I have had the honour to receive from you; for, after its being declared as the unanimous opinion of the Council that this Residency was not a station which required the presence of a Member of the Board, either my integrity or capacity must, I am afraid, stand very defective in their esteem to occasion the nomination of a Member of the Select Committee to settle the revenues of such an inconsiderable province, and supervise the proceedings of the Resident.” Mr. Graham had submitted an estimate of the increase that could be made in the revenues of the province. If that estimate should meet with the approbation of the Committee, he trusted they would not see the necessity of lessening his authority, which he thought must always prove of prejudice to the public business in the absence of the Supervisor. He continued,—“As to your proposition of letting the lands upon more advantageous leases than have been hitherto granted, it must proceed from your not being sufficiently advised of the constitution of this province. There is no part of the land occupied by farmers; the whole is possessed by the hereditary zemindars, who derive their rights from original sunuds granted to their ancestors. By these they are entitled to the residue of the rents, after paying the Government revenue; and when the increase is added to their former payments, I do not apprehend that there will remain for their proportion more than a scanty maintenance, which, were they to be dispossessed of entirely, must always be allowed them.”‡

In reply to the objection regarding his appointment as Supervisor, Mr. Verelst replied§,—“My appointment as Supervisor was not of my seeking, but the request of the Committee. Their sense of the business is that it is not yet fixed on a determinate plan, and have therefore

* From Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, John Carnac, and R. Leycester, to Hugh Watts, Esq., at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 7th October 1765.

† From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of the Select Committee of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 24th December 1765.

‡ A note showing the nature of the zemindari tenure in Midnapore may not be deemed out of place here:—

“From time immemorial, both during the Nabob's and Company's Government, in these districts the heaviest kists of the collections being towards the commencement and conclusion of the year, the period for completing the revenues was extended to the end of Bhadoon or beginning of Assin, in which month, the new year commencing, and little or no kist to be made, a respite was always given to the zemindars, &c., for paying up and adjusting their accounts, and preparing for the new settlement the beginning of Kartic, for the making of which a tolerable judgment might then be formed from the appearance of the lands and the state of cultivation they are in, and how affected by the season, either from too much or too little rain, a point very essential to be known in a chakla whose bandobust has been always a tashkhis or hustobood one, and not a khas one, like Burdwan or other zemindaries in Beugal, for the landholders here can answer for no more than the present produce from the lands.”

§ From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th March 1766.

desired me to continue it. Your earnestness for the annulment of this appointment, I do suppose, arises from the motive you mention ; but I cannot think your situation unbecoming the rank you hold in the service any more than Mr. Ashburner at Burdwan. Were you in Calcutta you would be under the immediate orders of one of the members of the Board, unless in one or two offices. As for my depriving you of any credit in your business, the strictest justice has been already done you in the representation of affairs to the Court of Directors."

From their minutes of consultation* it is seen that the Board considered that Mr. Graham had received his instructions for making a circuit of the Midnapore and Jellasore provinces from the Select Committee. His observations should consequently have been addressed to them or to Mr. Verelst, the Supervisor of those provinces, under whose immediate directions Mr. Graham had been ordered to act. It was therefore unanimously resolved that Mr. Graham's address to the Board on the subject of Mr. Verelst's appointment was not only quite irregular, but that the manner in which he spoke of the resolution of the Board was highly unbecoming; the style of his letter in general authoritative, and by no means consistent with the respect the Board should ever insist on from every inferior. It was agreed therefore that Mr. Graham's letter be delivered to Mr. Verelst, and that he be desired to make him acquainted with these their sentiments.

In February 1766† the Committee permitted advances of money to be made for the cultivation of the lands during the ensuing season (for which Mr. Verelst had shown them there was immediate necessity), so long as Mr. Graham received for the same no greater interest than from 20 to 24 per cent. per annum. He was on no account to exceed the latter rate. Mr Verelst, in writing to Mr. Graham, said,—“I hope this measure will prove satisfactory and advantageous to yourself.”

In March Mr. Graham was recommended‡ to persevere in making a careful scrutiny of the zemindars' private accounts in Midnapore and Jellasore; he would by this means gain a complete and just valuation of the lands. This scrutiny was subsequently postponed till July. By visiting parts of the district it was said he would have an opportunity to hear and redress the complaints of the ryots, obtain a knowledge of the waste lands, and encourage the cultivation. The extraordinary expense Mr. Graham would incur on this occasion he was to charge to the Company, but the Committee recommended his being as saving as possible. They further appointed him an allowance of Rs. 12,000 per annum for the expenses of his table, &c., to be charged by him monthly.

No encroachments were in future to be made on the new year for the payment of the preceding year's balances; all old balances that were not recoverable were to be struck off.

The nankar of the canoongos was esteemed a sufficient and adequate allowance to them for their trouble and the maintenance of their

* Extract from the Minutes of Consultation dated 14th April 1766, being the enclosure to the letter from H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 23rd April 1766.

† From H. Verelst to the Resident, dated Calcutta, the 10th February 1766.

‡ From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th March 1766.

families. The Committee were of opinion that the office of "congu" (canoongo) would hereafter be found unnecessary, and did not choose any further appointments should be made; but in consideration of the present canoongs having so long held their appointments, they were willing that they and their children should continue, but on their demise the office was to cease. Mr. Verelst had in the early part of the year expressed himself* as convinced that the establishments of all "conguys" (canoongs') allowances were fixed, like commission, which ought to fall in proportion on every part of the revenue. The "congu's" rasm, &c., at Midnapore did not, which fact convinced Mr. Verelst they were taking what they had no authority for; for if the existing mode was not more beneficial, they would not pursue it. Their nankar he believed also to be established, and he ventured to say that a greater quantity would be found in their possession than they had a right to. Mr. Watts had told Mr. Verelst that in the estimation he had made of what the "conguys" received he had included the nankar, which made it amount to Rs. 70,000.

In October of the year, however, to remove the apprehensions, it was said, of the then existing canoongo, he was to be advised that the Committee approved of his continuing in his office.† Accordingly Rs. 5,000 a year were sanctioned for the expense of writers employed under the canoongo at the Midnapore and pergunnah cutcherries.

On the subject of canoongs there are quoted in the appendix three letters‡ extracted from later records, which will to a great extent show the origin of the office, the nature of the duties expected from canoongs, and the mode and extent of the remuneration which was allowed them.

In April 1766 Mr. Graham§ was employed, pursuant to the orders from the Select Committee noted above, in making a circuit of the Midnapore and Jellalore provinces. He wrote from Agrachar,—“The lands of this pergunnah are 6½ annas in possession of the chowdhry and 9½ annas in the hands of 18 talookdars; but I am sorry to understand and observe that they are far from being in a flourishing state. According to the accounts which the chowdhry and talookdars themselves render, the malgoozaree is paid from the rents of about 6,000 beeghas which is cultivated, whilst upwards of 10,000 beeghas of arable ground is lying waste, exclusive of the jungles and *bazee zemins*. Last year the chowdhry and talookdars executed an obligation to Mr. Watts to cultivate 2,500 beeghas of this land, but I do not find they have exceeded 500. In short, I see no prospect of getting such a quantity of land cultivated but by dividing it into talooks and appointing such responsible persons as may offer to talooks of 1,000 or 1,500 beeghas. Depending, therefore, that this method will be approved of, as tending both to the Company's interest and the good of the country, I have issued a proclamation accordingly in the cutcherry which now moves with me, at the cutcherry of Midnapore, and in the cutcherry

* From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 23rd January 1766.

† From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 14th October 1766.

‡ Vide Appendices Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

§ Extract from Mr. Graham's remarks on the pergunnah of Agrachar, in the province of Jellalore, being enclosure to his letter to Harry Verelst, Esq., &c., Gentlemen of Council, at Fort William, dated Agrachar, the 11th April 1766.

of the pergunnah. The terms I have stipulated for the pottahs to the ryots are as follows:—

Lands which produce other crops besides paddy to pay—				Lands which produce only paddy to pay—			
The 1st year	...	5 annas	per beegha.	The 1st year	...	4 annas	per beegha.
" 2nd "	...	11 "	" "	" 2nd "	...	8 "	" "
" 3rd "	...	1 rupee	" "	" 3rd "	...	12 "	" "

and the talookdar's tashkis with the Company to be settled agreeable to the produce of this jumabundee. If responsible people are encouraged from these terms to collect ryots and come and settle on the lands, a very large increase of revenue may be expected to accrue to the Company in the course of a few years; for I understand that the most of the pergunnahs of Jellalore are in the same situation, and I intend to make the same publication in them as I advance.

"In the meantime, as I observe by the computation of ryots that a much greater number in proportion are settled upon the talookdars' lands, I imagine they may be able to cultivate more than what they at present hold pottahs for. I have therefore issued a purwannah offering them pottahs on the above terms for whatever they will undertake to cultivate of the waste lands over and above their stated leases. By this method we may expect some little advantage until there is time for persons to offer and accept of talooks."

In the same month of April Mr. Graham visited both Turkachar* and Birkul.†

Mr. Verelst concurred‡ with Mr. Graham in thinking that the dividing the waste lands into talooks would induce cultivation, and would probably be successful. It was said that the country must have suffered considerably for want of rain, for complaints were heard from every part. Mr. Verelst considered that the revenues of the country were liable to rise and fall, to adjust which the Government should ever particularly attend to the just valuation of the lands alone. The intent of the circuit Mr. Graham had been engaged in was principally to attain to a certain knowledge of that valuation, in order that whenever an addition to the revenue was made it should only be where, on an equitable inquiry, it was found to be no oppression to the ryots. In May Mr. Verelst wrote§ that the very great drought of the season had certainly given reasonable cause for the zemindars' complaints; he added that he had received many of the kind from Burdwan also: in short, the grievance had been general. Should Mr. Graham find their sufferings so great as absolutely to disable them from complying with their revenues, he was to make an estimate from the best information he could procure of what might be thought an equitable indulgence. The revenues were, however, said to be well paid up||. Whatever old balances there were had better not be brought into the new books, but should be kept in a book apart, in case an opportunity should hereafter

* From the Resident to William Aldersey, Esq., Secretary to the Council of Fort William, dated Turkachar, the 13th April 1766.

† From the Resident to Harry Verelst, Esq., &c., Gentlemen of Council, at Fort William, dated Birkul, the 19th April 1766.

‡ From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 23rd April 1766.

§ From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 28th May 1766.

|| From W. B. Sumner, H. Watts, Claud Russell, W. Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd June 1766.

occur of recovering any part, to which Mr. Graham should give a proper attention.

In October the Committee particularly recommended* the annual circuit of Midnapore and Jellalore, and they determined that the same should be adopted by every succeeding Resident. Such balances as were irrecoverable were ordered to be written off; and to prevent the revenues of the provinces in general falling short of what they were estimated at in the previous year, the Committee desired Mr. Graham to increase, on such lands as were most capable of bearing the same, a sum equal to what it might be necessary to decrease in the others. It was further ordered that the tashkhis in future was to be made in sicca rupees. All Khushnishin lands held under undue authority, or without authority, were ordered to be immediately resumed, as the king by his treaty had engaged himself not to grant any sunnuds to the detriment of the revenues. In this year the Committee said that they would give the most positive orders to the court of cutcherry in Calcutta never to interfere in any disputes where the ryots of Midnapore might be concerned. They intended to direct that the dispute regarding the Kashijora Raja, Kashijora being a pergunnah in the district, should be dismissed that court.

In this year† also the Mayanachara Raja, as he was called, wished to be allowed to pay his rents in Calcutta by bills payable to the President and Council. He was, however, on suitable representations made by Mr. Graham, refused the indulgence, because of his unseemly behaviour to Mr. Graham, whom he ought to have looked upon as Chief. He was further forbidden to repair to Calcutta while his revenues remained so backward without the least representation of a complaint, or without having first advised with Mr. Graham on the subject.‡

At the commencement of Mr. Vansittart's residence in Midnapore the Collector-General wrote to him in the following terms§:—"May your residence answer your most sanguine expectations, and be assured of my inclination to contribute to it all in my power. Your intended circuit through the provinces under your charge is necessary on many accounts, and I recommend the ryots particularly to your attention, whose distance from the fountain-head makes them more liable to oppression." Alluding to some exactions in Kashijora, he said "that the Mangun was only an expedient for enabling the Rajah to pay off some old private debts, and has probably fully answered the purpose. We may connive at, but cannot avowedly countenance, such an imposition, and you will be pleased to acquaint the Rajah that it is expected there will be no necessity for renewing it next year. Had it arisen from over-rating the rents, it would then have been our business to interfere to relieve both the Rajah and ryots.* * * The three heads of the Mahtoot you recommend must at all events be continued, as must the other two even, if they are of two or three years' standing.

* From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 14th October 1766.

† From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 28th May 1766.

‡ From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 3rd September 1763.

§ From Claud Russell to Mr. Vansittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 2nd April 1767.

These money exactions are but a bad system at any rate, but there is no remedy without making a fair hustabood, which both the Rajah and Company, I fancy, will be equally averse to. However, it is an object I have in view, as I am convinced it will be for the interest of the Company, and at the same time relieve the poor ryots from many oppressions."

Referring to periodical visits to all parts of the district, the head of the Government said* :—"I approve much of your making the circuit of the Midnapore and Jellasore provinces. If the same was done every year, it would certainly redound to the advantage of the Company as well as to the ease of the ryots."

Later in the year the Collector-General wrote again on the subject of the exactions. He remarked† :—"I understand that rents under the title of mangun, &c., have been oftentimes collected by the zemindars and talookdars on some of the bazy zamin in an unsettled and oppressive manner. I would recommend that the said lands should be freed from such arbitrary exactions, and that in their room an established rate of rent should be fixed, proportionately to what has from time to time been levied. The Patnajaute and Sair Narayangar are at present, as you represent, collected by various hands from many different districts, independent of the zemindars, and at an expense that may be saved by directing the future collections to be made by the zemindars in the several districts, which will tend much to the ease and happiness of the tenants, support of the proper authority of the zemindar, and advantage to the Company, as there is the greatest reason to think more is collected than is brought to account, which the zemindars themselves will readily agree to pay if the collections are put under their direction."

On the subject of the extension of cultivation he said,—“You will please, sir, to be attentive to the chakeran lands that can be resumed with propriety, and to give the necessary orders for reducing the forts that still remain in possession of the natives in thana Fatehabad; and as I understand there are quantities of land still uncultivated in the districts under your Residency, I strongly recommend it to you, sir, to give every reasonable encouragement for people to settle and improve such lands, by which means the Company in time will reap considerable advantages, and I must own it is the mode of increase to their revenues I am most anxious to promote.”

The inquiry which Mr. Watts had initiated, and which subsequently Mr. Graham had taken up, regarding the validity of Khushnishin tenures, was resumed in this year by Mr. Vansittart with the concurrence and approval of the Collector-General‡. Apparently the inquiries hitherto made had been productive of but little results. It was said§ that in Kashijora, to which pergunnah these tenures seemed to be peculiar, of about 3,700 families contained therein 1,500 were composed of Khushnishins, a people who were in possession of a large

* From H. Verelst to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 4th April 1767.

† From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 26th October 1767.

‡ From Claud Russell to Mr. Vansittart, dated Calcutta, the 7th May 1766.

§ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Mayanachar, the 1st May 1767.

quantity of land rent-free, which for many generations had been continually receiving additions and had never been subjected to any diminution. The Resident wrote,—“Some of them have real sunnuds from former kings, nabobs, or zemindars, for the whole of their possessions, and some for part; some have forged themselves sunnuds, and others pretend they had sunnuds formerly, but have lost them by fire or robbery, or other accidents; and all, when they had once possessed themselves of any lands, whether by grants or by forgery or bribery or fraud, have never failed to combine together to prevent the zemindars from making any resumptions. Mr. Watts during his residence appointed five persons to examine into the claims of these Khushnishins, and Mr. Graham added another to the number. These persons accordingly made some inquiries, and some of the Khushnishins having been convicted of forgery the Rajah insisted on rents from them. He has not, however, been regularly authorized to do it, nor has the greater part of the claims been examined into, nor any final resolution taken concerning any of them. I have therefore added to the number of inquirers one person more, whom the Khushnishins themselves desired; and to these seven persons, consisting of the tehsildar, two ameen, the deputy chowdry, the deputy cauzy, and the two canoongoes, I have issued a purwannah to the following purport. That they are to examine into the claims of all the Khushnishins; that where they unanimously agree concerning the justness of any one's claim, the Rajah is to grant him a fresh sunnud witnessed by them; that where they unanimously agree concerning the injustice of claims, they must give a writing to the Rajah under their hands and seals, permitting him to seize the lands in question; that the Rajah, having received the said written permission, may seize the lands whenever he pleases, unless the possessor will consent to take a putta and pay rents in the same manner as other ryots; that where any one of the aforesaid seven persons differs in opinion from the rest concerning the justice or injustice of a claim, it is to be referred to my decision, and that they are to send me weekly accounts of their proceedings. By this means a considerable quantity of land may be added to the Company's malgoozaree, and there is very little danger of any one's being deprived of his just rights. With your permission, therefore, I shall pursue the like method in any other pergunnah where the like complaints may be made to me. I shall likewise inform myself as perfectly as possible of the number of Khushnishins in every pergunnah, and it may hereafter be worthy of consideration whether a great part of those who have sunnuds ought not to be subjected to the payment of some rents, suppose half of what is paid by the others ryots.”

In the preceding chapter has been already described the subjugation of the western pergunnahs by Lieutenant Fergusson, who was charged also with their settlement for purposes of land revenue. Added to a soldierly love for his military duties and zeal and intelligence in their performance, he possessed a cool and calculating mind in the peaceable settlement of his conquests. The annual revenue of the pergunnahs to be in future dependent on the Balarampur thana he fixed to be Rs. 5,311-5-9,* thus distributed—Jambunni, Alla Sicca

* From John Fergusson to J. Graham, Esq, dated thana Balarampur, the 14th February 1767.

Rs. 616;* Jhatibunni, Rs. 703; Ramgar, Rs. 616; Sankakulia, Rs. 879-11-6; Supur, Rs. 548-5; Amainagar, Rs. 311-2; Barahabhum, Rs. 441-5-9; Manbhoom, Rs. 316-2; Chhatna, Rs. 879-11-6. Jhargram,

Pergunnahs.	Jummas of 1876.
	Rs. A. P.
Jambunni ...	705 12 8
Jhatibunni or Silda ...	793 14 5
Ramgar ...	717 0 9
Lalgar or Sankakulia ...	912 15 5
Jhargram ...	258 1 10
Chiara ...	314 15 9
Digparoi ...	141 10 5

which belonged to Janpur thana, was settled for Rs 400-11. In the margin are shown the jummas now paid for some of the jungle pergunnahs which are still part of the Midnapore district. Baliabera was settled for Rs. 800;† Chiara and Barajit, parts of Rohini, for Rs. 200 and Rs. 400 respectively; Kiarchand for Rs. 85-8; Digparoi for Rs. 100.‡ Pergunnah Arngabad was incorporated with Manbhoom. The zemindar said that it was Arngabad pergunnah that enabled him to pay anything, for that Manbhoom had never any jumma.

On the subject of the increase to the land revenue by the settlement of the western jungles, the Collector-General made the following remarks§:—"I have duly received your favours of the 21st and 22nd instant, enclosing a general statement of the tashkis settled for the Midnapore and Jellassore provinces for the present year, and a particular one for the several districts in the jungles to the westward of Midnapore, with a kistbundee for the payment of the whole, all which I have entirely perused, and approve of your adjustments. But as I observe the settlement for the western jungles for last year was not completed till after you took charge of your Residency, and therefore not included in the general one formed previous thereto, I think it would be as well to consider it abstractedly, which will give us a truer idea of the increase arising from our new acquisitions, viz.—

"The amount of the tashkis settled for 1766-67 in January last, abstracted from those for the western jungles:—

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
The amount of the tashkis ...	...	8,13,168 13 6
Now settled for 1767-68 is ...	8,26,701 7 0	
Deduct for the western jungles ...	22,683 3 4	
		<u>8,04,018 3 16</u>
The difference is ...		<u>9,150 0 0</u>
Add the amount of tashkis now settled for the western jungles ...	22,683 3 4	
Deduct the amount of tashkis for last year ...	14,340 8 12	
		<u>8,342 10 12</u>
Which, being taken from the above leaves the decrease, as you represent, Ailā Sicca ...	...	<u>807 5 1</u>

* From John Fergusson to J. Graham, Esq., dated Manbhoom, the 6th March 1767.

† From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 29th May 1767.

‡ From John Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 8th June 1767.

§ From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 23th December 1767.

"From a statement of the tashkis settled for thana Balarampur which was received in March last, the amount of revenue agreed for that division for last year appears to be Alla Sicca Rs. 5,309-6-4, whereas in the one you have now sent me it is rated at no more than Alla Sicca Rs. 4,470-9-8. I therefore desire you will explain to me how the difference arises."

It is needless here, however, to attempt to reconcile discrepancies; the object in view is to show generally the increase to the revenue by the new acquisitions. Before they were brought under the Resident's immediate management they were rented to the zemindar of Midnapore, or the Rani, as she was commonly spoken of, for Alla Sicca Rs. 1,298-2-3, and so formed a part of the tashkhis stated for the Midnapore pergunnah.*

In reference generally to the settlement of the district for the year 1767, it was said† that notwithstanding the unfavourableness of the season the amount was only Rs. 800 less than what it was the preceding year. As the deductions which had been made on account of the drought in July and August and the inundations in October were but temporary, there was a certain prospect of a considerable future increase.

In his last circuit the Resident found‡ in the several pergunnahs belonging to the Midnapore and Jellasore chaklas about 80,000 beeghas of land uncultivated, exclusive of what was purposely left waste for roads, &c., and what was deemed unfit for cultivation. Of this quantity he provided for the cultivation of 34,000 beeghas, and he flattered himself that the whole would be cultivated in two more years. There had been a severe drought in the months of July and August and violent floods in the beginning of October, and it was very certain that the Midnapore and Jellasore chaklas had in many parts suffered very considerable damage. According§ to the accounts which the zemindars and talookdars delivered, the amount of the losses was about half the produce of the two chaklas. It appeared, however, from local inquiry that the amount of the losses, partly by the drought and partly by the floods, was nearly a fourth of the produce. The || whole amount of the deductions eventually proposed to be allowed to those pergunnahs which had suffered the severest losses, and were the least able to bear them, was Rs. 13,350. The zemindars, &c., agreed to the same tashkis as was settled for the previous year. A proposal was at the same time made to increase the tuccavee lent to the zemindars by the orders of the Select Committee (Rs. 58,600), or else that that sum should be withheld for the present and collected with the rents of the next year. The zemindars would undoubtedly be obliged, in order to carry on the cultivation of their lands, to make larger advances than usual to the ryots whose crops had suffered by the unfavourableness of the seasons.

* From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 30th December 1767.

† From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 21st December 1767.

‡ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 10th November 1767.

§ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 17th November 1767.

|| From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 29th November 1767.

Without at all advocating a return to, or in the slightest degree defending, the old forms of practice and procedure, it would be well to contrast the manner in which the officials of former days treated the ryots and people dependent on them with the caution and fear of the law which now characterizes the behaviour of the authorities towards them. The habits and modes of thought among the people are the same now as they were a hundred years ago. The same impatience of the orders of the local officials, the same alacrity to take refuge in appeal, and the same deceit and cunning, prevail now as they did in 1767. But the patriarchal and despotic Government of the old days has departed from those who now conduct the management of affairs, and in their place, it is feared, is too often noticed either a positive fear of action, or disinclination to go beyond the straitened scope of mere duty. Some of the Kashijora ryots in 1767 were not satisfied with the treatment they received at the hands of the Resident with regard to the disposal of some revenue matters. They forthwith had recourse to a deputation to Calcutta to the Collector-General, Mr. Claud Russell, who wrote to Mr. Graham* that having learnt that some of the Kashijora ryots were at Calcutta, he had three of them brought to him and ordered them to return immediately to lay their complaints before Mr. Graham. A peon was sent with them to see that they did not trifle with him. It seems Mr. Graham was excessively displeased with the ryots for their recourse to Mr. Russell, and because of certain misstatements they had made regarding the success of their appeal to him, and he expressed his feelings to that gentleman, who again wrote† :—"So far from making promises to the Kashijora ryots while they were at Calcutta, I would not even hear what they had to say, as in my absence I would discourage every complaint but through the channel of the Resident. I would not even see them but while I could put the letter for Mr. Graham into their hands with a general assurance that he would inquire into their grievances. I could wish therefore the heads of them had a public chastisement for their assertions." The ryots betook themselves a second time to Calcutta, but Mr. Russell wrote‡ :—"I have yet seen or heard nothing of the Kashijora ryots; their behaviour is to the last degree insolent, and if they do come to me I shall immediately return them to Midnapore under a guard, with certificates of their appearance upon their backs, which will be the most effectual method of teaching them better manners for the future." In reply§ Mr. Vansittart wrote that part of the Kashijora ryots had returned from Calcutta. They tried to persuade him that the Collector-General had determined that something should be refunded to them. They were not believed. Mr. Vansittart concluded they had made their escape from Calcutta without Mr. Russell's knowledge, upon being informed of his intention to punish them. Mr. Vansittart therefore gave the three principal of

* From Claud Russell to Mr. Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 19th March 1767.

† From Claud Russell to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 7th April 1767.

‡ From Claud Russell to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 16th April 1767.

§ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Agrachar, the 7th May 1767.

them a severe flogging for their repeated insolences, and then sent them back to Kashijora with assurances of his protection from all injuries in case of their good behaviour, and threats of a more rigorous treatment if they should merit it for the future. Mr. Russell, on being informed of what Mr. Vansittart had done, expressed his satisfaction in language which in the present day would perhaps be considered extremely unbecoming* :—"In my letter of the 7th I acquainted you how the Kashijora ryots slipped through my fingers. I have since had the pleasure to receive yours of the same date, and glad I am that these dogs have at last met with their deserts. They will behave better in future, I hope, and it will be a more striking lesson to others not to fall into the same error than if they had been punished here."

The non-liability of the zemindars to bear the expense of the construction, maintenance, and repair of large embankments, was expressly declared in the case of Kashijora and other pergunnahs.

The Resident said† :—"The custom of Orissa exempts the ryots from the payment of poolbundy, not only in Kashijora and Amarsi, but likewise in Kutubpur, Mayanachar, and throughout the Midnapore and Jellalore districts, and compensation is made to those pergunnahs where an expense for poolbundy is necessary to be incurred, by stating their tashkis proportionately lower. The particular hardship therefore which Kashijorah and Amarsi complain of, and the deductions demanded by them (Rs. 3,600 by the former, and Rs. 600 by the latter), arise from a different cause. The zemindars had expended the abovenamed sums for poolbundy out of their own pockets, and they accordingly appeared in the bazykerah accounts of the pergunnahs. Now, in the beginning of the Orissa year 1178, when Mr. Verelst and Mr. Graham examined the pergunnah accounts and resumed for the Company all unnecessary expenses, through mistake, in the hurry of business, they included these articles under that denomination. The zemindars complaining, the mistake was perceived, and it was determined to rectify it by advancing the sums in question for poolbundy out of the Company's treasury. They were accordingly advanced; but at the end of the year, instead of being written off to profit and loss, they were suffered to remain on the books as a balance due from the pergunnah; so that, as no deduction was allowed them in settling this year's tashkis, they will now have so much extraordinary to pay." Naturally objections were preferred.

The relation of the Resident towards the zemindars was unique in some respects, as will be evident from the following letter‡ :—"The zemindar of Mayanachar has run away to Calcutta, in order, as he says, to sell his household furniture, &c., and find means for paying the Company's revenue, but, as I imagine, to complain of my violence and tyranny, and endeavour to get his zemindarri farmed, and its revenue collected independently of Midnapore. The balance of the revenue

* From Claud Russell to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 14th May 1767.

† From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 7th July 1767.

‡ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 23rd July 1767.

due from him to the Company is Alla Sicca Rs. 13,828-15-16, exclusive of which he owes—

	Sonant Rs.
To the Company account of tegavy	7,000
To ditto ditto poolbundy	3,000
To me, lent him at his request at 12 per cent. per annum	4,000
To Captain Dugloss, about	1,000

besides, as he says, debts to other merchants, the amount of which I am not acquainted with. The payment of all these, his debts, he has been endeavouring to elude by farming his lands to Kishunchurn, who was to pay him, besides the balance of the Company's revenue, about Rs. 5,000 more than his present tashkis, and leave all other demands to be recovered as they could. As I am pretty certain his zemindarri will yield at least Rs. 75,000 Alla Sicca, I would propose that the Company should take it under their own management, leaving to him a reasonable allowance. They must for the present content themselves with the same tashkis as is already settled, and apply the overplus of the collections to the discharge of the Rajah's debts, which, when effected, they may secure for themselves whatever increase may be thought proper. In this case I will be answerable that there shall be no balance remaining at the close of this year. That is to say, I will advance whatever may be necessary to the Company's treasury, and pay myself out of next year's collections."

The following sentence will show on what principles the Resident was to settle the revenues*:—"As the season now approaches for holding the Poonah (punya) at Midnapore, in order to settle the rents that are to be collected the ensuing year, I recommend to you to be attentive to the Company's interest, by which I mean that they should receive such rent as the ryots can afford to pay, and at the same time enjoy the ease and comfort that people in their situation of life ought to do."

In the year 1767 a remarkable statement was made in a letter to Mr. Vansittart†:—"In consequence of the Hon'ble Company's orders to the Select Committee, you are hereby directed to make the strictest inquiry into the annual embezzlement of the revenues of Midnapore and Jellasure from the time those lands were first in our possession until Mr. Watts was recalled. The intention of the Court of Directors is to attempt recovering by due course of law the several considerable sums which they conceive to have been collected, and not placed, as they ought, to their credit. You are therefore to obtain the most satisfactory proofs, and to transmit them, properly attested, with all convenient despatch to the Select Committee.

"For this purpose you are directed to draw out each year's account separately, specifying minutely the sums paid into the treasury, the gross collections, the disbursements, outstanding balances, and the deficiencies of every year. All these accounts must be duly authenticated by the dewans, congoys, and other officers then employed, so as

* From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 26th October 1767.

† From Alexander Campbell to Mr. George Vansittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 4th August 1767.

to produce the most undeniable and legal proofs in His Majesty's courts of judicature."

In February 1768 the Resident wrote:—"In consequence of the Committee's directions I have ordered the vakeels of the several pergunnahs belonging to the Midnapore and Jellasure provinces to repair with all speed to Calcutta; they will set out in a day or two, and a list of their names shall accompany them. I have thought it proper to send the vakeels rather than the zemindars themselves, as it was from them I received the accounts, and they are ready to attest upon oath that they were faithfully extracted from the zemindari papers, as they will get to Calcutta I imagine in time enough for their attestations to be transmitted to Europe by the last ship of this season, whereas the zemindars could not be so speedily assembled, and as their journey will not be so productive of any inconvenience to our Hon'ble Masters' affairs in these provinces, whereas the zemindars would be attended with a heavy expense, interrupt the collections of the revenue, and greatly impede the cultivation of the country, the season for which is now beginning."

In June 1768 the Resident wrote†:—"Enclosed I transmit for your information a statement of the waste lands in Midnapore and Jellasure chacklas. By this statement you will perceive that 24,900 beeghas of waste land were cultivated last year, and that 24,200 are engaged to be cultivated this year, and that the remaining waste land in the two chacklas will then amount only to 18,600 beeghas. I speak only of the waste land which is deemed fit for cultivation; for that which is deemed unfit there is in several pergunnahs a very large quantity, and of this I must observe that the greatest part is not actually incapable of cultivation, but only is in such a state that it will at first be attended with a good deal of labour and expense, and therefore can hardly be expected to be undertaken till the number of inhabitants is considerably increased."

The Collector-General, on the subject of the Resident's tour through the province, said‡:—"In your intended visit to the pergunnahs I would chiefly recommend you to inform yourself if the people labour under distresses from the oppression of zemindars or otherwise, and which are the most likely means to redress their grievances, also what parts will best admit of the cultivation of mulberry trees." He had also inculcated the necessity of extending cultivation in general, and had been informed§ that the waste land of the district was chiefly in the western pergunnahs, which were bounded partly by the Company's own jungles and partly by Moharbhaj and other Mahratta districts, all of them very incapable of furnishing any considerable supply of inhabitants. For instance|| Bahadurpur pergunnah, dependent upon Midnapore, and said to be a pretty large district, was almost

* From the Resident to Charles Floyer, Esq., Secretary to the Select Committee, dated Midnapore, the 28th February 1768.

† From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 23rd June 1876.

‡ From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 11th April 1768.

§ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 17th August 1768.

|| From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 8th August 1768.

entirely overrun with underwood and long grass. The bringing of a good number of ryots from Calcutta appeared to be an essential article; otherwise it was feared that one part of the country would be laid waste whilst another was being improved, for the pergunnahs bordering on Bahadurpur were all so thin of inhabitants that they would not admit of any considerable emigration without going themselves to ruin.

In September the Collector-General said* that he had intended to be present at the "Pooneah" in order to have assisted in settling the collections for the ensuing year, but was prevented; he therefore desired the Resident to take the necessary measures for making the new year's adjustments at the usual season.

Event at this early stage of the Company's rule there was an expensive canoongo establishment entertained, for Co.'s Rs. 9,849-9-9 were expended in February and August of the Orissa year 1174 as allowances settled by the Select Committee for the canoongos and their servants; in February 1175 Rs. 5,119-3-3 were expended.

In† 1770 the canoongo of Midnapore was said to belong likewise to Hijli.

Towards‡ the close of the year the revenues of the expired Amli were entirely collected, except the small balances occasioned by the troubles in Ghatsila. The§ Raja or proprietor of that zemindari was in no distress it was said, nor would he have been at a loss how to pay his revenues had he been separated from his evil councillors. Very large sums deposited by the former Raja fell into his hands, and the ryots contributed much above what had been paid into the hands of the Company's officials. It was contemplated to benefit him with a duty on the salt. Mr. Fergusson had ordered him to be kept within the fort until he had brought up his arrears of revenue, which he was able to do, not having as yet advanced any part of the general collections he made all over the pergunnah in the previous month, and until he had produced the zemindar of Dampara, for whom he was security, and who had stolen cows and buffaloes to a considerable amount from Supur pergunnah, and whom Mr. Fergusson would have driven out of the jungles long ago had not the Raja interposed.

In 1768 inquiries were made regarding the imposition of fines by the zemindars on the ryots. The Resident, in writing to the Collector-General, said¶ :—"I should be obliged to you for an account of the fines which are established in the Calcutta pergunnahs. In the chacklas of Midnapore and Jellasore it is customary for the zemindars to levy more or less, as they think proper. This opens a door for much oppression upon ryots, as zemindars are often induced, by the desire of gain, to be exorbitant in their exactions for every trivial offence. It would contribute greatly to the ease of the ryots, therefore, if certain fines were

* From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 5th September 1768.

† From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 14th September 1768.

‡ From the Resident to Lieutenant Rooke, dated Midnapore, the 29th May 1770.

§ From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 11th October 1768.

¶ From J. Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 18th March 1768.

¶ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 17th November 1768.

established in proportion to the quantity of land rented, and an order was published that a larger sum should on no account be levied without the Resident's express permission, and such permission the zemindars might apply for in case of any crime being committed which might be judged to deserve a more severe pecuniary punishment." The Collector-General said* that in the Calcutta pergunnahs, where the offence merited a more considerable mulct than three rupees, a complaint was preferred to the Collector-General, "but perhaps," added he, "it may be necessary to allow the Midnapore and Jellasore zemindars a greater latitude. I therefore leave the point to be determined as you shall judge fit and reasonable."

Without† application to the Resident the zemindars might levy, according to the Resident's proposals, the following scale of fines : —

	Rs.
" From weavers	1
" ryots who are not rich enough to keep a plough	1½
" " who keep one plough	3
" " " two " "	6, and so on at the rate of Rs. 3 per plough.

"From mohurrirs, paiks, and servants of the zemindar, according to custom, and the ability of the offenders."

It appears that the tucceavee (which almost entirely consisted of pulbandi advances) to be resumed in the Orissa year 1176 was between Rs. 23,000 and Rs. 24,000, and the increase in the Company's malgoozari was between 4 and 5,000 rupees.‡ The increase would have been more considerable, but it was prevented by the difficulties in the Kashijora pergunnah, and by the losses which Bhunyamutta, Bajarpur, Khandar, and Amarsi, had suffered from the overflowing of the Keliaghai.

Mr. Alexander in December 1768 succeeded Mr. Becher as Collector-General.§

The events relating to the administration of the land revenue in the Midnapore and Jellasore provinces during the next two years, 1769 and 1770, are of minor interest, and may be briefly described. In October 1768 the Keliaghai nullah,|| as it was called, had overflowed its banks, and had done so much mischief to the bunds in the pergunnah that it was found necessary in 1769 to give them a thorough repair in order to guard the pergunnah from the like mischief in future. The Resident therefore proposed, and the Collector-General sanctioned, the advance to the zemindars of about Rs. 1,500 pulbandi, more than usual for that purpose.

Entirely new arrangements were made with regard to the collection of the revenue in the pergunnah of Fatehabad. The jumma was only

* From Richard Becher to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 21st November 1768.

† From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 3rd December 1768.

‡ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 21st November 1768.

§ From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 31st December 1768.

|| From the Resident to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 12th January 1769.

Rs. 93-10-1.* Even this the zemindars never paid with regularity; they suffered the country to go almost entirely to ruin, and the neighbouring pergunnahs were much infested with the robberies of their Chuars. Mr. Vansittart therefore granted jaghirs for the support of these zemindars, and removed them from the management of the district, which he put under the care of a man who he believed would apply himself diligently to the cultivation and improvement of it, and who agreed that his rents should next year be raised from Rs. 93-10-1 to Rs. 1,000.

In the early part of the year 1769 Mr. Vansittart took a circuit of the newly-acquired territory in the western jungles.† In describing his tour he said he hoped he had put a stop to the mutual depredations which the zemindars and those of Bishnupur and Pachet had been used to make upon each other's territories, and at the same time to have confirmed the zemindars in their obedience to the Company, and encouraged them in the cultivating and better regulating of their possessions. That these anticipations had better never been formed the narration of subsequent events will only too clearly shew.

However,‡ in September 1769 the Resident had the satisfaction of reporting that the Company's revenue for the Midnapore and Jellasore provinces had been completely collected without any balance.

Before the close of the year the zemindars of the Midnapore province delivered in a list of losses occasioned by the great want of rain, which amounted to Alla Sicca Rs. 1,30,000.§ These of Jellasore computed their damage at not less than Rs. 40,000. Both statements were not considered to be exaggerated, for on a cursory local inquiry it was estimated that the losses on paddy lands alone amounted to between Rs. 60 and 70,000. There was additional loss sustained in the more valuable crops. Mr. Vansittart proposed, under the circumstances, to lend the same amount of tucceavee as he did in the past year, but the interest only accruing thereon was to be collected. The assessments of the year were to be reduced by Rs. 7,093-10-1 (Alla Sicca), and the collection of Rs. 27,000 was to be deferred for the present and made with the next year's rents. It was thought that these terms were the utmost that the zemindars would be able to afford, as they themselves would be obliged to make much larger allowances to the ryots, and it was not without very great difficulty that they had been brought to agree to a settlement.

On the 1st September 1770|| it was reported that the Company's revenue for 1177, as settled by Mr. Vansittart for the Midnapore and Jellasore provinces, had been completely collected without any balance. To which report a reply was made¶:—"I congratulate you on

* From the Resident to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 24th January 1769.

† From the Resident to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 10th April 1769.

‡ From the Resident to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 12th September 1769.

§ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 24th December 1769.

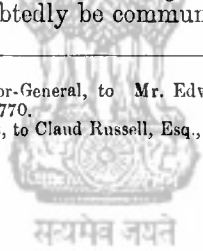
|| From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 1st September 1770.

¶ From Claud Russell, Collector-General, to Mr. John Peiarce, at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 20th September 1770.

finishing the collections for the year 1177 without any balance remaining, besides what was deferred till this year on account of drought, which I recommend to your attention." And again, "last year* the collection of Rs. 2,700 was deferred till the present year, on account of the drought, as some relief to the ryots. This I hope you will now soon be able to recover from the present favourable appearance of the crops upon the ground." Mr. Baber made reply†,—“There is the greatest appearance of a very plentiful crop, but I cannot flatter you with the expectation of receiving the whole sum this year. The benefit of this harvest will not be immediately enjoyed, and although it may be the means of enabling the inhabitants to repay this indulgence on a future day, yet in the present year I think it will be impossible to recover more than half. I have endeavoured to inform myself as fully as possible on this subject, and upon the information I have obtained I formed this opinion. You may be assured I will exert my best endeavours in recovering as much of this money as can be paid without distressing the inhabitants, which you are sensible, sir, should be carefully avoided, and that our zeal for our Hon’ble Masters’ interest should not make us inattentive to their ease. A little while hence, when the produce of the lands can be more certainly ascertained, I will probably obtain some further lights still into this subject, and should I, they shall undoubtedly be communicated to you.”

* From Claud Russell, Collector-General, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 27th September 1770.

† From Edward Baber, Resident, to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 14th October 1770.



CHAPTER V.

GENERAL HISTORY.

Period 1771 to 1774.

THERE seemed to be no end to the troubles in the western jungles of the district. It has been seen how these territories were acquired, how difficult and almost impossible it seemed to bring them into a state of quiet and tranquillity; it remains now to record other and later attempts, made for several years, to curb and restrain the lawless spirit of the inhabitants, and to bring the country into a condition that would admit of the Company's revenue being punctually realized. Several bodies of sepoys under the command of European officers were stationed at convenient localities in the west of the district, from which they made excursions, sometimes with a view to seize some freebooter more daring than ordinary in his mountain fastness, more often to protect the cultivators in the tillage of their lands, and induce them to continue in their homes, which they were intent on abandoning in preference to living in constant fear of murder and robbery.

CHUARS.

Lieutenant Goodyar, one of the officers on command in the interior, was occupied in building a fort, and expressed his intention of marching in a short time to Dhadki, the seat of a rebel Chuar sirdar, and thence to Dampara, where another insurgent, Jagannath Pattra, dwelt.* His movements awakened such apprehensions in the minds of the disaffected chiefs that they sent to treat with him. "One of them, Subla Singh," Mr. Goodyar said, "had got people to inform me if I will not cut his head off (which I find is the custom here), but spare his life, he would come to my feet. This has disconcerted my future schemes of making him a prisoner and sending him to Midnapore by way of example. * * * As you desire these people whenever they come in should go to Midnapore, I think every one of them would sooner suffer death than comply, which is the punishment they expect. * * * I am now in the worst part of a bad country, where there are but few roads, and those hardly passable, that I am obliged to act by detachments that can make their way, for I cannot move the whole, as well as being obliged to take every precaution to get supplied with provisions from the neighbouring pergunnahs. * * * The sepoys are sickly; they say it is the water, which is here all very bad." Before many days had elapsed Mr. Goodyar learnt through his spies that the Chuars under Samgaugin's brother, Tribubhan Singh, and Duberaj, the Barahabhum Raja's son, had taken possession of the "Dulceene" ghât, with intent to cut off his detachment, if he attempted to go through.†

* From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Dumjuri, the 3rd January 1771.

† From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Dumjuri, the 4th January 1771.

The place was one of the strong passes of the country, and lay in Mr. Goodyar's way, and it was said that it would be impossible for two battalions to get through if the Chuars would defend it; that the hills and cliffs of the rocks were so steep that if an enemy only flung stones down not a man could escape. It was suggested that to avoid the snare which the treachery of Samgangan had developed, Mr. Goodyar should march round by way of Barahabhum, though, on the other hand, it was alleged that if he marched a great way round, he would not be able to get over the hills, and a certain degree of encouragement would be given to the Chuars, who would think Mr. Goodyar afraid.

Mr. Higginson, the Chief or Resident at Burdwan, had complained of some outrages committed by the Chuars, and Mr. Baber requested Lieutenant Goodyar to do all in his power to prevent them.* He was further recommended to accommodate, if possible, the present disputes with the Chuars by fair means, as that was the most eligible course. At the same time Lieutenant Goodyar should be always upon his guard when overtures were made by so deceitful a set of people. If they would not listen to terms of amity, vigorous measures would have to be pursued. Mr. Baber again wrote†,—“I am of opinion that they never will be quiet unless troops constantly remain in those parts, and I am strongly inclined towards building three small thanas sufficient to contain 60 sepoy each, who should reside there, and who would then be ready to quell any disturbance in its infancy. But these thanas should be erected in such places as would keep these fellows most in awe, and that the sepoys might soon march to each other's assistance. As you must be the best judge for proper places for these thanas, I shall be glad of your opinion upon this matter.”

“Their wives, children, and effects,” Mr. Goodyar said,‡ in reference to the insurgents, “they secure in the hills, and the Chuars keep the jungles and passes, ready to take any advantage, where I cannot hurt them; which obliges me to act with greater caution, for any success on their side would be a greater encouragement to them as well as others to revolt.” Mr. Goodyar went on to complete the thana he was constructing, “which, from the conveniency of its situation,” he said,§ “I cannot help observing will effectually answer the purpose without making any more, only keeping the same number of sepoys in this intended for the three.” He added||,—“I will be glad if you favour me with your instructions, as I will build barracks and conveniences accordingly.” Mr. Goodyar next intended¶ to go to Barahabhum to settle some differences between Samgangan and the Raja there, and thence to Narsinghar on his way to Dampara. The Raja had asked that some defence should be provided for him in Mr. Goodyar's absence to meet a probable attack from the Chuars. Mr. Goodyar wrote**,—“In consequence of this request, I asked the tranidare, who is a very intelli-

* From Edward Baber to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 2nd January 1771.

† From Edward Baber to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 9th January 1771.

‡ From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Dumjuri the 14th January 1771.

§ From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Dumjuri, the 14th January 1771.

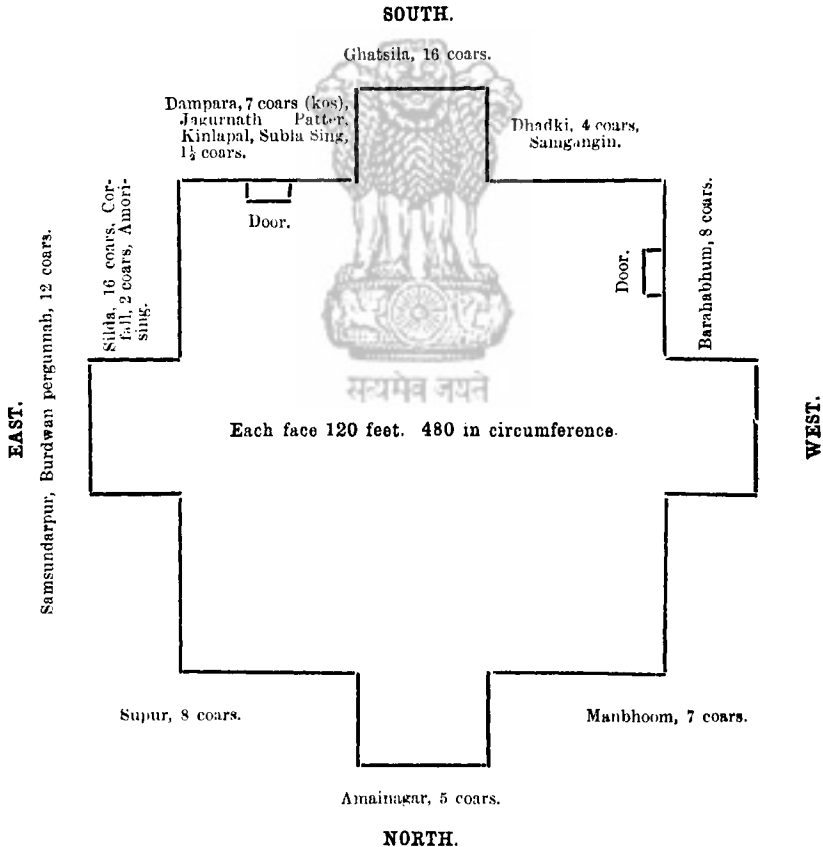
|| From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Dumjuri, the 14th January 1771.

¶ From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Dumjuri, the 17th January 1771.

** From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Dumjuri, the 29th January 1771.

gent man in the affairs of this part of the country, what would be the effect of keeping a force and building the thana you spoke of. He told me very good, and made the following observations—that the Rajahs of Ghatsila, Barahabhum, and Manbhoom held large tracts of country, but that the profits was eat up by the thieves, who held a considerable part, and paid only a small acknowledgment of fifty or a hundred rupees per year, and plundered all the rest; but was of opinion, if the thanas where built, they would strike a terror into the country, and that in a year or two the name of a Chuar would not be heard off (*sic*).

“This conversation, with the request of the Rajah, and your favour of the 19th instant, induced me to think of the scheme, which I have enclosed you a plan off, and not lose any time in the execution, but go on so far with it that it may serve for a temporary defence till I return from Dampara, and till I know if I am favoured with your approbation for completing it.



“This situation in regard to the neighbouring pergunnahs, and particularly the residence of the Chuars, I have endeavoured to lay down as near as possible. The spot I have built it upon is by the place

they used to assemble to commit their robberies and divide their plunder, which makes me think it the more convenient to annoy them. I have made the walls of the trunks of trees from ten to twenty-two inches in circumference, and twelve feet long, two feet of which is sunk into the earth in the following manner : : : , with a distance between each pile for pointing a musket. But I would wish to add, if I have your approbation for what is already doing, a parapet of earth about five feet or more for the defendants to stand on, which would make it very strong, and likewise small barracks for the sepoy in the rains and to hold grain, &c."

Mr. Baber* inculcated on Mr. Goodyar the necessity of exercising caution in his movements, and disapproved of precipitate measures. "For," said he, "in an open country, and where provisions were plenty, there indeed you would have nothing to fear in your pursuit of the enemy; but your situation is quite the reverse, and you have an ambush to expect every mile you march. If it is possible to lay hold of the ringleaders of these disturbances, I would have you do it by all means, for without a severe example I am afraid they will never be quiet. I should be very loth to trust any of these men with each other's country, as it appears to me there is not a pin to choose amongst them. However, policy often dictates that one scoundrel is to be preferred to another."

Towards the end of the month of February Mr. Goodyar fell upon a considerable number of Chuars lying in the jungle before they were aware of his approach, and routed them with considerable loss, his own being trifling. In describing the encounter Mr. Goodyar said†,—“The Chuars, as they escaped, discharged their arrows and match-locks from behind the trees and jungles upon my people without being able to see one of them. The sepoy, as soon as they found themselves wounded, were ungovernable, but began a fire upon them and pursuing them with their bayonets, the pykes at the same time killing them that remained in the huts, and to search for plunder. But on finding themselves closer attacked, as the Chuars recovered their first surprise, they began to dance and jump like furies to escape the shot and arrows of each other, at the same time shouting and making a noise which, with the sepoy firing, the huts set on fire, and the gloominess of the jungles, afforded me a scene I could not help admiring.”

Mr. Goodyar was at last obliged to go to Dhadki by the way of Barahabhum for want of water. While at Barahabhum‡ he was told he could proceed no further owing to want of roads. The only means of communication, the nullahs at the foot of the hills, had been barricaded by the Chuars, who cut down trees across them; the banks were covered with impenetrable jungle, in which lurked the rebellious Chuars. The open country began a kos or two from where Mr. Goodyar was, but the inhabitants had retreated into the hills with their families and effects, and the troops, unless they carried their provisions with them,

* From Edward Baber to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 11th February 1771.

† From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Barahabhum, the 24th February 1771.

‡ From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Barahabhum, the 11th March 1771.

would starve. In face of these difficulties and the approach of the hot season, when rice would become scarce, Mr. Goodyar made such a disposition of his forces as would enable them to beset the country and make excursions into it at different places at the same time, while the Man Raja, the Ghatsila Raja, Jaggannath Pattrā and himself would get over the hills and burn Dhadki. Seven hundred matchlockmen were to be enrolled, and the Pachet Raja was also to assist with a thousand men and provisions at his own expense to act against the Bara Rajah, if he would not withdraw his assistance from the Chuars and help to oblige them to submit. Mr. Goodyar discovered the cause of the opposition against him to be the building of the fort, the fear and terror of which had alarmed the whole country, and occasioned the combination between the Raja and the Chuars. However, the Bara Raja submitted before active measures could be taken, and sent out persons to clear the roads. It was determined that everything should be settled with Mr. Goodyar in an amicable manner, Samgangin again returning to his allegiance. On this Mr. Goodyar resolved to set out the next day to go through the worst country he had ever heard of, and through the middle of the Chuars round to Narsinghgar, and through Dampara back again to Dumjuri.

From Ghatsila on the 20th March Mr. Goodyar wrote,—“I informed* you of my intentions in my last; I now think it my duty also to acquaint you with the different occurrences that happened in my way through to Dhadki.

“On the same evening a Carbarry came from Samgangin to conduct me on the road; I accordingly set out early the next morning. For about a coars thin jungle of tall trees, but afterwards the country very uneven, tall trees, the bottom thick jungle, and long grass. Here the Chuars had cut down trees to block up the road, and made some wood huts intended for their matchlocks. At nine encamped at Chilla, a small spot of ground, the hills in front. The next morning at daybreak proceeded on my way towards the hills; at setting out thick jungle, but afterwards fine plains, thin jungle, with low hills, Y^e tops sown with grain. They told me this was the jaghire of Duberaj, the Bara Rajah's son, but under the care of Samgangin. On passing this the road led serpentine between the hills for some way and then broke off by a deep descent into a nulla, the bottom small stones; but had not gone far before the hills cut across, and the nulla grew too narrow for me to pass, stopped up with the roots of trees that were across it and others that had been washed down by the rains. Here I was obliged to have the gun taken to pieces, and my people to drag it up along the side of the hills, which were very steep, when there followed the greatest scene of confusion in cutting my way through the jungle, the bullocks oversetting and leaving their loads behind them, and every one straggling along in the best manner he could, till I found the nulla again wide enough to go through it; but it was all the way very bad till I got clear of the pass, when there opened a fine prospect of a beautiful country surrounded by hills, full of villages and plains, skirted with thin jungle. But on being told the way out of it was much

* From G. D. Goodyar to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Ghatsila, the 20th March 1771.

worse than that I came, I think the observation of my officer very just that Dhadki was a strong fort, and if the inhabitants were deer upon the plains, they did not want courage in such places, when a very few of them would keep me in or out of the country. On my first entry the Chuars were drawn up upon my left, and shortly assembled all round me. At twelve o'clock I pitched my camp close to Dhadki, and after posting my guard and giving directions for repairing the gun-carriage, I found myself very ill, and rested till the evening, when Samgangin's brother, the head Chuar sirdars, and ryots, came to me and told me Samgangin was not well, but that they were ready to settle any business with me on his account. I thought it best to have recourse to gentle methods, and told them I was well pleased with what they did, but it would be a great satisfaction to me to inform you I had seen him, and accordingly sent some head-men of his own caste with a beetle to fetch him. They returned the next morning, and told me if I would send sirdars belonging to the zemindars with me to him he would come in with them, which I did, and in a few hours they brought him at the head of a large body of Chuars. When he came before me he was in great fear, and told me him and his people had done very ill, upon which I had the mossulcha explained to him, and asked him if he was willing to comply with it. He told me he was, and signed it before some of the headmen of all the jungles, telling me at the same time if he in future had any cause of complaint, he would refer it to you, and then left me his brother to carry me through the next pass. I now received the congratulations and thanks of the people for delivering their country from the fear of this man, for they told me he would not let any of them pass through his ghâts, which they now all saw, and though him and his country belonged to Bara Rajah he would never get to see him."

Shortly after the Resident, in writing to Mr. Goodyar, expressed his pleasure at hearing that he had settled matters so well and so peaceably.* "I think," said he, "it will be necessary to leave one, if not two, companies at Dumjuri. I find that the black folks oppose this measure, but that rather confirms me in my opinion of the propriety of it. I should be glad to hear your sentiments on it. They represent the difficulty of procuring provisions even for one company, but I suppose this objection may be easily obviated. I should be glad to know what remains to be done to the killah you built to make it tenable against an enemy and convenient for its own garrison. Your answer to this letter will determine my resolution as to further measures, and I will then speak to you on the subject of your return to Midnapore, as I can assure you I don't desire to keep you a moment longer on disagreeable duty than necessity requires." Lieutenant Goodyar had apparently settled the business he had been engaged upon well and peaceably, for by the 19th June he had returned to Midnapore.†

Apparently for some time after this the west of the district remained tranquil; any disturbances that were encountered showed

* From Edward Baber to Lieutenant Goodyar (without date), about March 1771.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 19th June 1771.

themselves, not in Midnapore, but in the Burdwan province, on the north-west frontier, as the following letter to the Chief of Midnapore will make clear* :—"The jungle jemadars of this province, Durgun Sing, of Raipur, Mohun Dass Chowdree, of Bhelai dihá, and Sunda Narain, of Phulkusma, having thrown off their dependence, refused to pay their rents, committed depredations on the other jemadars, and opposed the sepoys sent to support the Bogree Rajah and the Government officers, I have to request that you will issue orders to the jemadars of your province, Balarampur, &c., bordering upon the above jungles not to afford them assistance or protection, but that they will take part with Jador Sing and the subadar detached from this factory, so as to reduce the offenders to reason, as I understand they are at present inclined to afford them shelter."

In February 1773 fresh disturbances were occasioned by an insurrection in the pergunnah of Ghatsila.† The zemindar, who was turned out by Mr. Vansittart, found means to gain over some partizans to his side, and attacked the ruling zemindar with so numerous a body that Mr. Baber was obliged to send a company of sepoys to support him. Mr. Baber wrote to the President of Council, Mr. Hastings,—“From the accounts which are brought to me I apprehend it will be necessary to send an European officer with a reinforcement of men. I shall take every measure in my power to reduce this man to obedience, and to prevent as much as possible any loss to the revenue; and you may be assured, sir, of receiving a punctual account of all my proceedings. You will perhaps ask, sir, how these people came not to be under better subjection after having been reduced so long. It is principally owing to the nature of the country, which, from its woods and mountains, is rendered almost inaccessible. As soon as the harvest is gathered in they carry their grain to the tops of the hills, or lodge it in other fastnesses that are impregnable; so that whenever they are pursued by a superior force they retire to these places, where they are quite secure, and bid defiance to any attack that can be made against them. The western jungles is an extent of country about 80 miles in length and 60 in breadth. On the east it is bounded by Midnapore, on the west by Singbhoom, on the north by Pachet, and the south by Moharbhaj. There is very little land cultivated in this whole extent, and a very disproportionate part of it capable of cultivation; the soil is very rocky, the country is mountainous and overspread with thick woods, which render it in many places utterly impassable. It has always been annexed to the province of Midnapore, but from its situation it was never greatly regarded in the Nabob's government; and the zemindars sometimes paid their rents, or rather tributes, and sometimes not. It was not till the residency of Mr. Graham that this country was brought into any regular subjection. He reduced the zemindars to obedience, and stipulated with them for an annual revenue of Rs. 22,000, instead of Rs. 1,200, which they used to pay. This

* From Charles Stuart to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Burdwan, the 26th November 1773.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1773.

territory is divided into two thanas, one called thana Balarampur and the other thana Janpur. The former is subdivided into nine pergunnahs and the latter into eight, and each of them is governed by a zemindar, who is dignified amongst his ryots with the title of rajah. These zemindars are mere freebooters, who plunder their neighbours and one another, and their tenants are a banditti whom they chiefly employ in their outrages. These depredations keep the zemindars and their tenants constantly in arms. For after the harvest is gathered in there is scarcely one of them who does not call his ryots to his standard, either to defend his own property or attack his neighbours. The effects of this, I may say, feudal anarchy are that the revenue is very precarious, the zemindars are refractory, and the inhabitants rude and ungovernable." Captain Forbes, with a party of sepoy, was deputed to proceed to quell these fresh disturbances. The result of his movements will be best described in the following letter* :—"The disturbances in the jungles having rendered it necessary to send a detachment of sepoy to quell them, my predecessor, in the month of February last, ordered Captain Forbes to proceed with four companies for that purpose, where he has continued ever since. He informs me in one of his late letters that he has reinstated the ryots in the possession of their grounds and recovered the balances due from them, that he hopes shortly to be able to seize some of the principal promoters of these disturbances, and at the same time has requested my orders for his conduct in such case. To what Mr. Baber has already written you on this subject I beg leave to add, sir, that this disturbance in the jungles happens every year, though not always with the same consequences. To prevent them in future it will be absolutely necessary that severe examples should be made of such of the ringleaders as fall into our hands. I am therefore to request you will favour me with your directions what punishment should be inflicted on them." In one of his letters Captain Forbes wrote†,—"The Singbhoom Rajah was endeavouring to lead the salt merchants to load their salt in the Mahratta districts, by which a considerable duty would be lost to the Company. I took such steps that he came into camp, and I shall make him execute an obligation never to harbour either ryots or merchants in future, and guarantee for the peace of Haldipukhar.

"I beg leave to enclose you returns of the detachment, with an abstract of the bills sent the paymaster, the amount of which I request you will receive for me. I have got money from merchants who are going to load salt at Birkul for bills on Midnapore, with which I have bought provisions &c." Captain‡ Forbes, at the commencement of the rains, returned to Midnapore; but a subaltern, Lieutenant Hawkins,§ was sent to have the command of the two companies stationed at Narsinghgar and Haldipukhar. At another place, also in the western jungles, Manbhoom, was a European officer, Lieutenant James Dunn, stationed during the rains of 1773.|| The officer at

* From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, the 7th June 1773.

† From John Forbes to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Haldipukhar, the 30th May 1773.

‡ From Samuel Lewis to Captain Forbes, dated Midnapore, the 24th June 1773.

§ From Samuel Lewis to Lieutenant Hawkins, dated Midnapore, the 13th August 1773.

|| From James Dunn to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Manbhoom, the 27th September 1773.

Narsinghgar in November wrote to the Resident* :—"This moment I have received an express, being an account of the Sannyasis' approach. I shall march immediately, and likewise send a person to inform them that if they approach this province, or any of the Company's districts, I shall march against them with the greatest expedition."

SANNYASIS.

This subject of the Sannyasis, thus incidentally mentioned, is a topic of which extended notice would seem to be suitable if the anxiety of Government with regard to them is to be appreciated. In January 1773 the Resident was directed† to keep a particular eye on the motions of the people known by the name of Sannyasis, whose incursions of late had been frequent and distressing to the country. Strict orders were to be left at every chowkee to suffer no persons whatever to pass with arms, but that they be obliged to deposit them with the chowkedars; and public notice was given that all persons or bodies of men travelling armed through the country would be regarded as enemies to the Government, and pursued accordingly. These orders, if universally applied, were likely to prove most inconvenient.‡ To whom, it was asked, did they apply? for almost every man in the country carried a sword. Was the custom to be abolished, or was it to be limited to any particular rank of men? There were 40,000 or 30,000 people who travelled annually through the Midnapore province to Jaggannath. There were many persons of distinction amongst them; and in the different parties that went there might be some of them who had swords, pikes, or matchlocks, which they carried either for defence or state. Many merchants also travelled through the province into the Mahratta districts, and for safety they went in companies of twenty or thirty together, and none of them without a sword and shield. Were these persons to leave their swords at the chowkees? In a word, it was asked whether every person indiscriminately was to be forbidden to carry a sword on any account whatsoever, and who was to be entitled to the privilege, and on what occasions. It was eventually explained§ that only Sannyasis were to be disarmed: all merchants and others travelling on lawful business were to be permitted to carry arms as usual.||

In February 1773 the Secretary to the Government again wrote to the Resident saying¶,—“I am directed by the Honorable the President and Council to signify their orders to you that immediately on receipt of this you detach from the battalion of sepoys in your district as great a force as you can spare from the defence of your factory to

* From Lieutenant R. Hisketh to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Narsinghgar, the 12th November 1773.

† From J. Stuart, Secretary, Council Chamber, to Edward Baber, Esq., dated Fort William, the 21st January 1773.

‡ From Edward Baber to John Stuart, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1773.

§ From J. Stuart, Secretary, to Edward Baber, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 11th March 1773.

|| From the Resident to Mr. J. Stuart, Secretary to the Council, dated Midnapore, the 20th March 1773.

¶ From J. Stuart, Secretary, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 4th February 1773.

proceed directly after the Sannyasis, a body of about 7 or 8,000 of whom, we are informed, were in the neighbourhood of Kirpai on the 3rd instant, and you are to take care that the officer who commands the party be strictly enjoined to see that his men do not throw away their ammunition; that he preserve the most exact discipline; and that he do not enter into parley with the Sannyasis, but that he do his utmost to destroy them, take them prisoners, or expel them from the country." * * * In compliance with the spirit of these injunctions the Resident directed Captain Forbes* :—"In case the Sannyasis should come into our districts by any road near you, I hope you will be able to give them a good trimming. I have ordered the Balarampur tandar to give you every information he can about them. Should you be acquainted with any of the particulars relative to their numbers, strength, or route, be pleased to inform."

In March† all zemindars and farmers, on pain of the displeasure of the Board and of severe punishment for neglect, were ordered to watch over and send immediate intelligence of the motions of any body of Sannyasis or dacoits which might appear within their limits, with particular information of the routes they might have pursued. A few days later it was reported‡ that a body of 3,000 Sannyasis had gone into Bishnupur with the intention, it was supposed, of passing through the Midnapore jungles. A day or two still later§ information was received that the Sannyasis were at Raipur, a pergunnah lying to the eastward of Amainagar and northward of Ramgar and Jhatibunni, and they intended apparently to march that way. Captain Forbes was directed to go after them, and to use every means in his power to drive them entirely out of the Company's districts. The several zemindars were directed to assist Captain Forbes with what forces they were able to collect in order to expel the Sannyasis. Eventually|| they proceeded from Raipur to Phulkusma, from there to Silda, and thence to Alampur, and thence to Gopiballabpur, bordering on the Mahratta districts, far enough from the Midnapore authorities to prevent the latter from intercepting them.

In October¶ it was discovered that there were two bodies of Sannyasis within two days' march of Balasore, who intended apparently coming along the Jellasore road. Lieutenant Hearsey, commanding at Jellasore, promised to do all in his power to send them to the right-about, but he thought if a gun and a few grape shot were sent him, they would prove serviceable.

The Resident wrote in reply** :—"I have, agreeably to your request, ordered a supply of ammunition. As I think it is very probable the Sannyasis may take the Jellasore road, I have ordered a reinforcement of half a company, which will, I hope, enable you to give a

* From the Resident to Captain Forbes, dated Midnapore, the 17th March 1773.

† From John Stuart, Secretary, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 15th March 1773.

‡ From Charles Stuart to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Burdwan, the 17th March 1773.

§ From the Resident to Captain Forbes, dated Midnapore, the 19th March 1773.

|| From the Resident to the Hon'ble Charles Stuart, dated Midnapore, the 20th March 1773.

¶ From A. W. Hearsey to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Chief of Midnapore, dated Jellasore, the 28th October 1773.

** From Samuel Lewis to Lieutenant Hearsey, dated Midnapore, the 30th October 1773.

good account of them should they make their appearance in that quarter." To whom Lieutenant Hearsey replied*,—"I received yours of the 30th date. After my ball cartridges have made a report, I shall then be able to send you a true account of the Sannyasis." The Sannyasis, however, could not have been done with before they had inflicted some punishment on their opponents in the course of the year, as the following letter will show†:—"Immediately on the receipt of this letter you will be pleased to direct Captain Forbes to confine Jiram, subadar of the 14th battalion of sepoy, who commanded the detachment of that battalion which joined Captain Edwards, and was present at his defeat by the Sannyasis; and you will order Jiram, subadar, immediately to be sent under a guard to the presidency to stand his trial before a sepoy general court-martial for having deserted his post in the face of the enemy."

In November 1773 intelligence was received‡ from the thanadar of Janpur that the Sannyasis had arrived at a place called Kantipur, in the Moharbhaj district, and that they intended passing through the province by the Janpur road. Captain Thompson was to get§ the battalion ready immediately and proceed to intercept them. Leaving one company at Midnapore for guards, he|| took three companies and two field-pieces. From Mr. Marriott at Balasore it was learnt that the Sannyasis had divided their forces. In the same month the sepoy came up with a small body of Sannyasis near Haldipukhar and encamped within three miles of them.¶ The Sannyasis were encamped in a small village in the Mahratta districts, upon which two small sepoy picquets were advanced. However, the Sannyasis marched away to the hills. They consisted chiefly of women and children, their rear, not amounting to more than 1,500, who had not attempted to commit any hostilities. The substance of their journey had only been to wash at the conflux of the two rivers near Allahabad. The additional detachment sent to Lieutenant Hearsey** at Jellalore with a view to operate against the Sannyasis returned to Midnapore, as they (the Sannyasis) had gone by the jungle road and eluded the troops sent after them. Captain Thompson from Janpur†† said the greater number of them had gone to Singbhoom, and his further continuance in the mofussil was unnecessary.

FAKIRS.

Treating of a subject akin to the foregoing, is the following extract of a letter‡‡ from Mr. Alleyne at Cuttack:—"I am informed by

* From A. W. Hearsey to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Chief of Midnapore, dated Jellalore, the 2nd November 1773.

† From Warren Hastings to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 22nd June 1773.

‡ From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, dated Midnapore, the 5th November 1773.

§ From Samuel Lewis to Captain Thompson, dated Midnapore, the 5th November 1773.

|| From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, 5th November 1773.

¶ From R. Hiskith to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Haldipukhar, the 11th November 1773.

** From A. W. Hearsey to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Jellalore, the 11th November 1773.

†† From George Thompson to the Resident, dated Janpur, the 11th November 1773.

‡‡ From Samuel Lewis to John Bathoe, Esq., at Burdwan, and John Sumner, Esq., at Beerbhoom, dated Midnapore, the 26th October 1773.

Kirparham Mullick Sircar of 1,700 Gousaines and 300 Fakirs leaving this place (Cutlack) yesterday destined for Bengal; they travel as beggars, and are gone to rob in their way if they can." Accordingly, Mr. Lewis* wrote to the head of the Government apprising him of what he had heard. "I have therefore sent orders," he added, "to the different detachments out from hence to prevent their entering the Company's territories by this road, and have acquainted the gentlemen at Burdwan and Beerbhoom of such a party being on their route."

At the same time Mr. Hastings wrote† to the Resident in these words,—“As I have reason to suspect some bodies of Sannyasis, Fakirs, will attempt passing your districts, you will please, immediately upon receipt of this letter, to send information to all the zemindars on the several parts of your frontier that if any Fakirs are suffered to enter the Company's territories through their respective possessions, or even to approach them, without timely information being given to Government, the persons who have been guilty of this omission shall meet with the severest punishment, even to a dispossession of their lands, if found to have wilfully offended.”

“*P.S.*—Since writing this I have received your letter on the same subject. I can only add my desire that you will collect the battalion together and order it to march against the Fakirs, and to seize or destroy them if they make opposition.”‡ Mr. Lewis also wrote to Lieutenant Hawkins at Haldipukhar, Lieutenant Dunn at Manbhoom, and Lieutenant Hearsey at Jellalore,§ “to keep a watchful eye that they do not enter by this province. Should they appear near where you are stationed,” he said, “you will send a man to acquaint them that no collective body of men, either troops or beggars, are permitted to enter these districts, and to desire they will take some other route. Should this have no effect, you will take such measures as you may deem necessary for their dispersion.”

CHUARS—(resumed.)

In resuming the account of the disturbances in the west caused by the depredations of the Chuars, notice must in the first place be taken of the following letter,|| written by the officer commanding at Haldipukhar and Narsinghgar:—“I had written a letter intended to have been addressed to you, mentioning the devastations I had observed on my march, and requesting orders to chastise the author of them, the Rajah Jagganath Dhall, at least agreeable to the necessity of the case and the rules of war, to lay waste his country; but the ordering away of the gun prevented its being sent. However, I have since had such

* From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, dated Midnapore, the 26th October 1773.

† From Warren Hastings to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 27th October 1773.

‡ The postscript is Mr. Hastings' autograph, the writing being far neater and more legible than is generally noticed now-a-days.

§ From Samuel Lewis to Messrs. Hawkins, Dunn, and Hearsey, dated Midnapore, the 26th October 1773.

|| From T. Sidney Smith, Commanding at Haldipukhar and Narsinghgar, to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Chief of Midnapore, dated Haldipukhar, the 10th April 1774.

reiterated complaints from the jemadar of this district of the insolence and barbarity of that Rajah's people almost daily exhibited, that I have promised to send out a party the first time I can be assured where any number may be found, which shall endeavour to intercept and make them pay dear for their temerity. In the meantime I beg leave to represent to you that I imagine it must tend to the good of the Hon'ble Company's service if you would be pleased to reinforce this command with a company of sepoy (part to be left at Narsinghar, where they complain of being much exposed and afraid), and orders to make reprisals on this insolent Rajah. Possibly I might with diligence be able to lay hold of him, in which case I believe the whole country would quietly submit, or he may be terrified into submission; at least, making frequent incursions into his country would undoubtedly effectually prevent his ravaging this.

"As these people are under the most terrible apprehensions from the effects of a gun, if one was sent it would be of infinite service."

"P.S.—The villages are all burnt or totally deserted from Bhairagora to Narsinghar, and from thence within a mile or two of this place."

The Chuars not only constantly fought with the troops sent to act against them, but they actually opposed the officers engaged in a survey in the north and west of the district of Midnapore. Captain Carter, who was so employed in 1772,* always moved about with a detachment of sepoy to escort him, the size of which may be imagined from a consideration of the fact that on one occasion Sonat Rs. 8,000 were disbursed to him for the expenses connected with it. In March 1774,† when Captain Rennel was Surveyor-General, Lieutenant Call was employed in the survey of the roads between Culna and Indas, and was about to prosecute it towards Barahabhum, Kinlapal, and the western part of Bengal. He had twelve sepoy with him, and required more as he advanced further westward, where the country was said to be infested with dacoits. Mr. Warren Hastings gave orders‡ subsequently that he should be supplied with two companies from Midnapore. Apparently this large force was actually deputed under the command of Lieutenant Young, for in the succeeding month that officer wrote to the Resident§,—“On the 19th, in the morning, I arrived at a small village called Sageron; the jungle fellows assembled in a savage body* * I sent my sircar to them for some provisions, as mine was all expended at this time, for I had not been able to get any since I left Amainagar. They sent me word that they would not give any, and that I should not go any further that road: I must go back again; if we attempt to proceed they would fight us. Upon this I ordered my sentinels to be loaded, but not to fire before they were fired at. Upon their seeing this they went in the jungle, and did not come near us all day. In the evening I ordered my sircar to write to the Rajah at Barahabhum and to acquaint him that we were coming through his district by order of

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq., President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, the 12th February 1772.

† From Lieutenant Call to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Indas, the 15th March 1774.

‡ From Warren Hastings to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 2th March 1774.

§ From Mr. Young to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Manbloom, the 22nd April 1774.

the Governor to survey the road, not in an hostile manner, and that I would be glad if he would order the ryots to supply me with what provisions I wanted, and that I would take care that they should be paid for what they brought me. He did not choose to send back an answer, but he kept the harkara a prisoner. At this time I was in great distress, my people not having had any provisions that day. I told them that they should have some in the morning; that if the Barahabhum Rajah did not send me some, that I would order out a party to press some. With this they were satisfied. About eight o'clock in the evening they attacked my guard at a tank, but they were very soon beat back again. They afterwards came several times; in short, they were firing at us all night. In the morning at daylight we proceeded on route, Mr. Call pursuing his survey. As soon as we got in the jungle they fired at us from all quarters. My detachment parties kept them off for some time. At last they crowded upon the rear so fast, I was obliged to face my people about to drive them off, which I very soon did, dropping near a hundred of them. We then proceeded on. We had not got far before they came on, and we were obliged to leave off surveying in order that we might get through the jungle as soon as we possibly could, and get on a plain, which we did about 12 o'clock, and here we found that they had got possession of a tank, the only one. However, we soon took it from them. I then halted to refresh my people, clean my arms, &c., and dress the wounded. As I had not any provisions, nor likely to get any, I thought it would be prudent in me to proceed to Manhoom. I wrote a letter to the Rajah of that place for some grain. He immediately sent me some; if he had not, I don't know what would have become of us. However, with his assistance, I arrived here last night. Some of my wounded are very bad. I will send them in as soon as I can get a conveyance. We shall not be able to leave this these five or six days. I must beg of you to send me as soon as you can some ammunition. I have but very little left; we fired above 40 rounds a man. I have only lost one naik and 45 sepoy wounded; several cooleys killed and wounded. I must beg that you will excuse my not giving you every particular, for Mr. Call and myself are in a fever, and not able to hold our heads up. Mr. Call has received orders from the Surveyor-General to alter his route; we are to go to Narsinghar.* And on the 6th May Lieutenant Smith wrote,* also from Haldipukhar, saying,—“I am informed that the hill fellows in the whole environs have agreed to join Jaggarnath Dhall or act in concert with him to drive our sepoy out of every part of the country. Though I lay very little stress on this last advice, yet, considering (as I complained to you on my first arrival) that my ammunition is so much exposed that two or three enterprising fellows in a dark night might destroy it, maugre the utmost diligence of the sentries (in which case this detachment must be cut off, for these people, being as brave as our sepoy, their numbers must prevail when they cannot be kept at a distance, their arrows being as superior to bayonets as muskets are to arrows), I have set about building a secure place for it, when I shall

* From T. Sidney Smith, Lieutenant, Commanding at Haldipukhar and Narsinghar, to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Chief of Midnapore, dated Haldipukhar, the 6th May 1774.

have nothing to fear (unless being starved) from all the numbers that may be brought against me.

"Unless Jaggarnath Dhall is subdued the Hon'ble Company can never receive an anna from this side the Subarnrekha river but when sepoys are stationed here, as he tells me under his hand, in answer to a message I sent him, that he ought to be Rajah, and that till he is he will never cease destroying this country with fire and sword."

Here must terminate for the present the account of the expeditions against the Chiefs living in the western pergunnahs of the district during the early period of the Company's rule, for the Collector being withdrawn from Midnapore, the major part, if not all, of the time of the European officials left in Midnapore was occupied in providing the Company's investment. What measures were taken to secure the peace of the newly-subjugated country are not recorded.

FRENCH.

Some account, in addition to that given in a preceding chapter, describing the relations subsisting between the English Company's servants and those of the French Company, appears suitable here. There can be no doubt that the French were extremely jealous of the growing power of the English Company, and it is quite possible that their interests in many ways clashed with those of their successful rivals, and were subordinated to them in many instances from the mere force of circumstances. In June 1771 the President and Council of Chandernagore complained generally that the persons entrusted with the English Company's affairs in the different factories and arangs, where the French had people employed, were continually obstructing the latter in their business. But particular complaints were made by the French Residents at Mohanpur, "Choupore," and "Canicola," who were unable to recover their balances. Mr. Baber, it was said, went so far as to oppose the seizure of a "delal" (who owed a considerable sum) by M. Aussant, under pretence that the man was a farmer of the English Company's. Mr. Baber was called upon for full explanation of the circumstances of the affair,* and he was cautioned anew that he should avoid giving any interruption to the proper course of the business of the French Council. In reply the Resident wrote the following letter†,—“It was only yesterday I had the honor to receive your letter dated the 18th of last month, in which was enclosed an extract of a letter from the Council of Chandernagore. The complaint which is preferred by these gentlemen in this extract is so general and so vague that I am at a loss how to reply to it. They say that ‘M. Aussant having designed to seize a delal, I opposed it, under pretence that this man was a farmer of the English Company,’ and to this charge you gentlemen are pleased to require a full explanation of the circumstances. I have before expressed myself at a loss how to reply to this general accusation in a particular manner; and as I can

* From John Cartier, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, and John Reid, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 18th June 1771, with an extract of a letter from Chandernagore, dated 17th June 1771.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, the 12th July 1771.

only guess at what it alludes to, I flatter myself no imputation will fall on me if I should not be so explicit in my reply as you have directed.

“ Whilst I was lately on a circuit, and in that part of the province near Mohanpur, M. Aussant visited me at Birkul in order to lay before me the state of his outstanding balances, and to request my assistance in recovering them; at the same time he said he hoped I should have no objections to his putting peons over the people from whom the balances were due, nor oppose any measure he might take to collect in those debts. I then told him if the measures he intended to take would not impede the collection of the revenues, nor any part of the Company’s business, I should never think of interposing in his transactions; on the contrary, I would do him such offices of good will as might be in my power and were consistent with my duty to my employers: but that their concerns must be the first object of my care, and that I would not permit them to suffer for the sake of his recovering his debts. He seemed perfectly satisfied with my answer, and assured me that he was so. When he returned to Mohanpur he sent me a list of his debtors, and modestly requested me to write a purwannah directing them to pay his balances without delay, and telling them they would be left entirely at his mercy if they did not immediately comply. As two of the people were chowdries of the collections, and most of them in arrears to the Company, for very obvious reasons I refused this very extraordinary request.

“ This, I believe, is what is meant by opposing M. Aussant’s design to seize a *delal*, and I flatter myself it was such an opposition as will meet with your approbation. If M. Aussant is to be permitted to seize on the inhabitants at pleasure, and I am not to interpose, how can I be answerable for the collections? He may seize upon a zemindar or talookdar and pay himself out of the revenues due to the Company. I imagine it would appear a strange reason to you, gentlemen, for a deficiency in the revenue to say that it proceeded from a part of them being appropriated to discharge the debts contracted by the French Agent at Mohanpur. Before I conclude, permit me to make a remark on that part of the extract of the letter from Chandernagore which says ‘ I opposed M. Aussant’s design of seizing a *delal* on pretence of his being a farmer of the Company’s.’ This I suppose the Council were told by M. Aussant, and I therefore declare that it is an injurious and unjust assertion. I never made a *pretence* to M. Aussant; I told him he must not seize the people employed in the revenues, and that I must and would collect them in preference to his or any debts. I may with justice retort the word *pretence*, and I do not scruple to declare that M. Aussant has made advances to persons who are unable to fulfil their engagements, and that under the pretence of my obstructing his business he wants to excuse himself to his superiors. I am sorry, gentlemen, that you should have any occasion to repeat your caution to me not to interrupt the business of the French. But I leave it to you to determine whether the present occasion proceeds from any real cause, or from their propensity to magnify every trivial circumstance of dispute, and to prefer complaints against your servants; and I flatter myself that the one which M. Aussant has been pleased

to make against me will appear both frivolous and ill-founded." This explanation fully satisfied Government of the propriety of Mr. Baber's conduct. They said*,—We can by no means allow of the ryots or inhabitants of the Company's lands being seized and confined by agents of any other European nation without being allowed to appeal to the country courts under the inspection of your Residents or Collectors ; but as we would also wish to have justice done to the agents on those occasions, we desire that you will give every assistance that may be necessary towards the immediate adjustment of their accounts."

But the equanimity of the Resident seems to have been seriously disturbed, and actuated by a feeling that his conduct had not met with the praise it merited. He wrote in September 1771 the following letter†: "Since I find that every trifling circumstance which can interfere in the least with M. Aussant's business is turned into matter of complaint against me and represented by him to the Council of Chandernagore, and that these complaints are thrown into the mass of grievances which these gentlemen daily represent they are daily suffering from the servants at subordinates, I flatter myself it will not be deemed an unnecessary part in me if I endeavour to clear my own conduct from that odium which these accusations are intended to throw on the servants of the Company in general, which have already, and which, I apprehend, will affect me in particular. To be frequently called upon in a public manner to answer complaints which the French Council are pleased to prefer against me, to have every trifling act in which even a weaver of the French is concerned magnified into an act of oppression, to have my conduct arraigned and misrepresented because it happens to displease a French agent, are circumstances which I think I may be allowed to call very mortifying ; and though I have had the satisfaction to prove their former complaints ill-grounded, and hope never to give just cause for any in future, still it is an irksome task to be obliged to explain every individual transaction that M. Aussant chooses to represent to his superiors. I therefore repeat my hopes, gentlemen, that you will not think I am prematurely excusing myself by this epistle, for I find I am so situated that to do my duty to the Company is to give offence to M. Aussant, and that every offence of this kind is called an obstruction to the trade of the French. That this is literally the case, I beg leave to prove by the enclosed letter, which I beg leave to send to you, because, as I have just alleged, I cannot avoid subjecting myself to the complaints of the French Council if I consult the interests of my employers in preference to theirs.

"M. Aussant in this letter declares that he must be obliged to complain to his superiors if I will not give such orders to the shekdars, &c., as to prevent their being insolent to him. He also declares that I am the author and supporter of all the insults and obstructions he meets with from the natives, and this on the demonstrative argument that because I am Chief of the province every act of those under my authority must be committed with my privity or consent. Thus, if a

* From John Curtier, Samuel Middleton, W. Aldersey, Charles Floyer, and John Reid, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 10th August 1771.

† From Edward Baber to John Cartier, Esq., President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council dated Midnapore, the 21st September 1771.

tehsildar, zemindar, or any other officer of the collections, should, as may sometimes happen, presume on his authority, tho' I am an utter stranger to the matter, the act is attributed to me, and without my hearing a word of it, immediately transmitted to Chandernagore, where it receives the stamp of an oppression and then is laid before you.

"Permit me, gentlemen, to lay before you the cause of the present insult offered to M. Aussant, that you may judge how far I am an accessory; but give me leave to premise that his letter was the first information I had of the sheikdar's conduct. The Orissa year is now expiring. The rents are to be collected as completely as lies in my power. My duty and honour both demand it. I had issued orders throughout the province that those persons who could not fully pay their rents by the end of the year would have their estates sold to make good the deficiency. In consequence of this order, it seems, the tehsildar of Kurul sent for Ram Chunder Mater (the man mentioned by M. Aussant), as he was in arrears of rent. This man was at this time under the confinement of M. Aussant's peons. In opposition to them the tehsildar carried him to the cutcherry to give in his accounts, and pay his arrears of rent before the year expires, and this is the insolence so highly resented by M. Aussant. Hence, gentlemen, you see the impossibility of collecting the revenues without giving cause of complaint. To M. Aussant's declaration of my supporting and encouraging the people in insolence, I can only assure you that I never, directly or indirectly, countenanced such behaviour, or ever threw an obstacle in his way of trade. As to his saying *that if I will not give effectual orders to prevent the insults he meets with he must be obliged to complain*, it is mere chicanery. You cannot, I hope, gentlemen, suppose that I would refuse giving such orders. Be assured I would not, for my own character's sake, be so mean to encourage these people in any insolence, even if I had not the weighty consideration of your commands to prevent it; but these are not the orders which he wants. Those he wishes to have, and without which he will be eternally complaining, are what I mentioned to you in my former letter, viz. a full power over the people indebted to him, and a prohibition to the tehsildars sending for them whilst they are under the custody of his peons. In a word, the real truth of the matter is what I have before had the honour to represent. The persons from whom his balances are due are men of no great property, who find a difficulty even in paying their rents to the Company. If, therefore, they pay his debts, they must fall in arrears to the Company. If the Company's revenue is to be paid, M. Aussant cannot recover his balances so soon as he wishes and his superiors expect. They are urgent with him to collect in the advances he has made. He is solicitous to excuse himself for not doing it, and the best excuse he has is to throw the blame on me. In this alternative, however, I apprehend it is impossible I should be at a loss what part to take, or whether the apprehension of M. Aussant's complaints should deter me from collecting the Company's revenue.

"I am sorry so much of your time should be taken up with these frivolous disputes, but since the gentlemen of Chandernagore make them matters of so much importance, they are of very serious consequences to me. My character and conduct are immediately

concerned, and the necessity of defending them will, I hope, be a sufficient apology for the trouble I am obliged to give you."

In September of the following year the Agent of the French Company stationed at Mohanpur, one M. Sauson, wrote to the Resident*,—"The irregular behaviour of Goussobonounde, sikdar of this pergunnah, constrains me to break a silence I kept only four months since upon his ill practices, as I did hope he would comply with my intentions and mend himself. I am not able to think him authorized in it from your orders, and I do present to you with a confidence my complaint against that man.

"You are not unacquainted, no doubt, sir, with our Company, creditor of great sums in this country, and you may know by your pains in recovering your cazenas how hard it is to me to recover our Company the remainders. But I could not be thinking the most great difficulties in it should be caused from your servants. Every day your sikdar in this country raises against me some new impediments. Feared from all these inhabitants, whom he is a little tyrant of, he dares to inflict a punishment, and amerce such of our debtors who made to us any payment. This charge, sir, is not rambling and unfounded; and the unhappy men so unjustly punished from him made themselves to me their complaints of it, but as a great secret, for fear of being exposed to any more illtreatments from his part. Unsatisfied from it, the said sikdar every month keeps in your cutcherry ten, twenty days, and often a month ago, our debtors, under the pretence of getting your cazenas. At the first time I made known to him that this way from his part were inconvenient. I would detain nobody, and for the same reason I would not him detaining our debtors and withdrawing them from the pursuits, I had the right of making against them, at last that I desired him to release them and let them to go home. But he did not comply with my request, and till now driven off me with some lies.

"I had patiently suffered it, sir, in the hope of any changing in his conduct; and newly come in that place, I were not willing to begin my acquaintance with you by some complaints and displeasing contestations. But lately his refusal of releasing one debtor of ours, Santonguery Dulal, whom he detains two months since, and his boldness with which he dared himself make to me any propositions for the payment of the sum that man is indebted to us, does not let me to keep more a silence which should be prejudicial to the interests I am entrusted with. From what right that sikdar is intermeddling with our affairs and is detaining our debtors, and more particularly upon what title takes he upon himself to determine any times for payment, and to fix the sum that is able to pay one debtor of ours he keeps as a prisoner? Give me leave, sir, to hope you will be sensible of such irregular and impertinent behaviour of your sikdar, and you will be so kind as to reprimand him and to forbid him from detaining no more our debtors, and causing me hereafter any troubles in such pursuits I think convenient for the recovering of our remainders in this country.

* From M. Sauson to the Gentleman Chief of the English Factory at Midnapore, dated Mohanpur, the 22nd September 1772.

"As for the said Sautonguery, at my arrival in that place I had the purpose of writing to you, and together with yourselves imagining any means of convention with that man. But his coming to me, and his promises, hindered me from it. Give me leave, sir, to beg from you to let me know your intentions concerning that object. I do expect very impatiently the favour of your answer." To which Mr. Baber replied* :—"I have been honoured by the receipt of your letter dated the 27th, and am sorry to hear that you meet with difficulties in the business entrusted to your care. You may be assured, sir, that I neither know of, nor shall ever encourage, any improper behaviour in any person under my jurisdiction, and that on the contrary I shall always be ready to remove every cause of complaint as far as lies in my power."

It appears that by this time a better understanding had come to be established between the Resident and the French Agent, as the following letter, written in January of the year 1773, will show† :—"I have been honoured by the receipt of your letter dated the 6th instant, and am sorry that business should have deprived me of the pleasure you intended me in coming to Midnapore. I am sensible, sir, of the acknowledgments you have been pleased to make me for the trifling civilities it has hitherto been in my power to show you. and be assured it will always be a pleasure to me to render you any services within the circle of my narrow sphere. Some time ago I sent for Santagiri to account for some balances that were due from him here, but he is run away, and my peon has been returned. I am entirely ignorant of any peons being sent for his brother, nor have I any business with him, and I have sent an order for the peons you speak of to be sent hither. I am not quite certain what time I shall be at Birkul, but whenever it is I shall be glad of the pleasure of seeing you there; and I can also answer for the gentlemen who will be with me, that it will be equally agreeable to them. I beg, &c." When Mr. Samuel Lewis relieved Mr. Baber, M. Sauson addressed him in the following extraordinary letter‡ :—"A young French solitary in your neighbourhood, no doubt unknown to you, is very desirous of getting an acquaintance with you, and the honour of your friendship, and dares flatter himself with the hoping you will be pleased to disdain not that, his request. He hoped you will go to Birkul, and his intention was to go and see you and present you there his respects. But he finds himself deprived of that satisfaction; therefore he begs leave, sir, to present you them in a writing, as his compliment of congratulation for your new appointment. Deign, sir, receive them kindly, and to grant him the favour of your good will. That solitary has the honour to be, with a perfect consideration, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant."

Almost simultaneously with this letter the Government ruled§ that if any complaints were preferred by weavers or others against the violence and oppression of the agents or gomastahs of the foreign companies within the districts, the Collector was to refer the complaining

* From Edward Baber to M. Sauson. (No date given.)

† From Edward Baber to M. Sauson, dated Midnapore, the 7th January 1773.

‡ From M. Sauson to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Mohanpur, the 10th June 1773.

§ From William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, and T. Graham, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 12th July 1773.

parties to the Faujdari Adalat, and instruct the officers of that court to issue their orders in the same form and process as was used and ordained in all cases respecting the natives of the country, whether the persons complained against were European or native gomastahs. Should the agents refuse to attend the summons or submit to the decrees of the court, the Collector was to receive a report of the same and apply for further orders. In December the Resident wrote to M. Sauson :* "I am sorry I have been deprived the pleasure of your company on account of Mr. Marriott. I can but flatter myself they will shortly subside, and I shall have the honour of entertaining you both. . . . Wishing you many happy returns of the season, I remain, &c." With this friendly letter it appears suitable to take leave of this not uninteresting subject, for before Mr. Lewis left the district no cause was found for any disagreement with the French agents resident in Midnapore.

JUDICIAL IMPROVEMENTS.

It was during the interval between 1770 and 1774 that great changes in the judicial administration of the two provinces were elaborated and gradually introduced, to take place, to all appearances, concurrently with those other great changes in the highest courts of justice located in Calcutta, which were brought in simultaneously with the appointment of Mr. Warren Hastings as the first Governor-General of India. In December 1771 Mr. Edward Baber, the Resident at Midnapore was informed† that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors had been pleased to order that all power given to the judges of the several courts of justice throughout the country of imposing arbitrary fines should be immediately abolished, and that the sunnuds appointing judges for the Mahomedans and Brahmins for the Hindoos should be registered in form, and a record be made of the sentences in the Nabob's courts, one copy to be kept in the cutcherry and another transmitted to "Muxudabad."

They had also absolutely ordered the abolition of all taxes or duties on plaintiff and defendant, and they strongly recommended the method of determining all causes by arbitration in every cutcherry throughout the country. Mr. Baber was therefore desired to use his endeavours to have these general points carried into execution, and as it was apprehended that giving security for the payment of chout on the adjustment of disputes had tended greatly to discourage the mode of arbitration, he was to exert his efforts and direct his aim towards the abolition of chout in all cases of arbitration.

The Government said that they had reason to think that the method of administering justice in the cutcherries was liable to a great many objections, and labouring under numerous defects; and as the Resident's experience would doubtless enable him to point these out and to suggest such measures as might be the most likely to promote a reformation, he was desired to give full information thereon, that the

* From Samuel Lewis to M. Sauson, dated Midnapore, the 30th December 1773.

† From John Cartier, Samuel Middleton, William Aldersey, John Reid, Joseph Jekyll, and P. M. Dacres, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 20th December 1771.

Government might take proper methods for removing every obstacle tending to impede the free course of justice. However, it does not appear that the endeavours of Government to promote the mode of arbitration and to accustom the people to act as arbitrators were altogether successful;* for it was found that they were not inclined to act in this capacity with cheerfulness, diligence, and impartiality. Mr. Baber being asked for his opinion as to the measures necessary to be devised to succeed with the people, said†:—"I confess to you, gentlemen, that I am at a loss how to assist your judgment in a point of this nature. You are no strangers to the disposition of these people, and that there are very few of them who from a principle of justice alone will undertake any trouble, or from a principle of equity will refuse a bribe. I should therefore imagine that the only means by which their impartiality and fidelity can be secured would be to make such allowances to the arbitrators as will induce them to undertake the office with cheerfulness."

In February 1773 the following circular was promulgated by the Government in the Revenue Department, a copy of course being forwarded to the Midnapore Resident‡:—"As it is essentially necessary to the success of the system we wish to establish for the administration of justice that one general and uniform method should be observed in recording the proceedings of the different adalats, we have determined on the enclosed forms for that purpose, to which we desire you will strictly adhere."

"Agreeably to the 13th, 27th, and 28th Articles of the Regulations, you are regularly to transmit to us authenticated translations of the proceedings of the Court of Dewani Adalat, together with an abstract of the trials in that of the Foujdari. These must be accompanied with complete copies of the records of the two courts in the Persian language, drawn out agreeable to the enclosed models, and attested by the dewans or moulvies who were present at the trials. These proceedings, however, need only be sent once a month, when you will submit to our consideration such subsidiary rules or orders as may appear to you expedient.

"In case of appeal, the appeal must be made within ten days after the decree is passed, and is to be noted in the margin of the trial. You will publish this addition to the Regulations as generally as possible.

"The numerous complaints we receive of the ravages committed by dacoits in different parts of the country make it particularly necessary that the 35th Regulation for punishing those robbers should be strictly enforced. We instruct you therefore to publish this regulation by written advertisements in the public cutcherries, and by beat of drum in every village of your districts, and attend to its being carried into execution.

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 1st April 1772.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 1st April 1772.

‡ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, and H. Goodwin, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William the 5th February 1773.

"We desire you will immediately send us lists of the names of the officers of the two courts in the Persian and English languages."

In * March 1773 the Resident was directed to be careful to specify in the copy of every decree issued from his Adalat the day on which the same was delivered to the party concerned, and at the same time the following notice was sent down to be affixed at his sudder cutcherry in the Persian and Bengal languages, and it was ordered that the rules therein laid down were to be carried into immediate execution.

"This † is to give notice that the Sudder Dewani Adalat for hearing appeals from the Mofussil Adalats will be opened on Wednesday, the 17th instant, at the Khalsa cutcherry, where the gentlemen of the Council will sit and proceed to the examination of such appeals as may come before them.

"That in order to defray the expenses of the court and to restrain litigiousness, a fee of five per cent. shall be paid when the petition of appeal is delivered, exclusive of such damages as the court in particular cases may think proper to adjudge to the respondents as a compensation for the detriment they may have sustained from vexatious or groundless appeals.

"That all petitions of appeal shall be delivered and recorded in the Mofussil Adalat in which the decree was passed within ten days after the date of the decree; nevertheless, in case the appellant shall choose to carry his appeal to the Sudder Adalat, he shall be allowed to appeal to the Sudder Adalat within two months from the date of decree; that no appeal delivered in after the above periods shall be received. That notwithstanding the appeal, the decree of the Mofussil Adalat shall be carried into immediate execution unless the appeal be declared in the court on the same day on which decree was passed; but that the appeal shall not be transmitted to the Sudder Adalat, nor shall the fine be exacted, until the expiration of the ten days from the date of the decree, and that it shall be permitted for the appellant to withdraw his appeal within that time."

In ‡ April 1773 it was directed that all persons who appeared before the Resident with complaints, of what nature so ever, were to have their names registered, whether their complaints were rejected as frivolous or inquired into by the Resident, in instances which depended only upon the revenue, or referred to the courts of justice. The register so formed was to be transmitted to Government on the first of every month, exclusive of the Resident's proceedings of the two courts of adalat. The intent and meaning of this regulation was to put a stop to groundless and licentious appeals to the Presidency, as well as to guard against every obstruction of undue influence in the Resident's cutcherry or in the courts of justice. It had become a frequent practice

* From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, Richard Barwell, and H. Goodwin, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th March 1773.

† Enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, William Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th March 1773.

‡ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, T. Lane, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, William Lambert, George Vansittart, H. Goodwin, and T. Graham, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th April 1773. — *Circular, Revenue Department.*

for persons to come down to the presidency with complaints from the different districts under the pretence that they had in vain applied for redress to the Collector, Dewan, and Courts of Adalat.

In the course of the year the Collector was addressed by the Revenue Department in the following circular*,—"Many complaints have been made to us that the decrees of the courts of adalat in the mofussil are frequently eluded with impunity by the persons against whom they have passed. If this practice is allowed to gain ground the authority of our courts will entirely lose their effect. We therefore require your particular attention to this circumstance, as we shall consider you very blameable if the decrees of your courts are not properly enforced. The rule to be observed is to oblige the person against whom the decree passes either to pay the amount within a limited time or give security which shall be satisfactory to the complainant. Failing in their performance of either of these conditions, they are to be imprisoned until they fulfil their decree."

Somewhat later still the President requested† that the Board would determine on the mode of appointing the officers to the provincial courts of Faujdari Adalat, which in their institution and the judicature they exercised were immediately dependent on the Sudder Nizamut Adalat, and which was a branch in the administration of Government, wherein it was prescribed by the regulations that the Government were only to act by influence, and by a secret, not an avowed, control. The mode, therefore, which occurred to the President as most proper to be followed was to allow the daroga of the Sudder Nizamut Adalat, the Kazi-ul-Kazaat and the chief Mafti to recommend the proper persons for filling the offices of the mofussil kazis, maftis, and moulvies, and to grant them the usual perwannahs of appointment after having received the approbation of the President, who, when he esteemed such appointments in any respect of consequence, or when they proceeded from dismissions, would report them to the Board. It was therefore resolved that the rule proposed by the President for appointing the mofussil officers under the Sudder Nizamut Adalat be in future observed. But as this regulation was not meant to affect the kazis, maftis, and moulvies already appointed in office, unless they should give cause for their removal, from being guilty of any crime or misconduct, it was resolved further that the daroga, &c., be directed to issue the customary perwannahs of appointment to the existing incumbents, and submit to the President a list of such as were still required to complete the establishments in all the districts. The Resident was directed to prevent any innovations that should be attempted in the rule thus laid down.

The Collector or Resident used to submit‡ to the Honorable the President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, the proceedings of the Dewani Adalat for each quarter, also the proceedings of the Faujdari

From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P.M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, T. Graham, and William Lambert, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 25th May 1773.

* Extract from the Proceedings of the Council of Revenue, being enclosure to a letter from Richard Barwell, Supervisor of the Khalsa, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 28th July 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Calcutta, the 29th September 1773.

Adalat with English abstracts. The Collector likewise used to return to the Honorable the President and Members of the Sudder Adalat summonses for the appearance of respondents to answer appeals.* He also used to submit the attested copies of the several papers and proceedings had in cases in the Midnapore cutcherry. That the Collector or Resident himself tried and pronounced decrees in civil cases even so early as 1767 will be clear from the following extract†:— “The complaint was originally made to Mr. Graham in the Orissa year 1174, and referred by him to arbitration; but the present appellant, not satisfied with their award, applied to Mr. Baber in the year 1178, by whom it was again decreed.”

The form of the summons issued in 1773 in civil appeals may be regarded with interest:—

“Sudder Dewani Adalat, Calcutta‡:—

Kishen Churn, Bearer, Talookdar of Meroopore, &c., } *Appellant*,
in the pergunnah Sabang, in Midnapore ... }

versus

Kerperam, Bearer, and Safflaram, Bearer, of the same } *Respondent*.
place ... }

“Whereas a decree passed in the Dewani Adalat of Midnapore on the day of Poos 1178 in favour of respondent, with which decree the appellant being dissatisfied has appealed to the Sudder Dewani Adalat, the said Kerperam, Bearer, and Safflaram, Bearer, are hereby strictly commanded to appear in person or by vakeel at the Khalsa of Calcutta on the 6th day of October next to give in answer and to defend the suit.

By order of the Court,

सयमेव जयते G. BOGLE, Registrar.”

In January 1774§ it was declared that the Nizamut Adalat was under the immediate superintendence of the Honorable President, and the Government therefore resolved that the proceedings of the mofussil Faujdari Adalats should be transmitted through him to the Nizamut Adalat, to which regulation they directed that the Collector would pay the strictest attention. And in the succeeding month the Government ordered|| that such warrants of the Naib of the Nazim for the execution of the sentences of the Nizamut Adalat on prisoners in the districts under the Collector's authority as he might receive from the

* From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President and Members of the Sudder Adalat, dated Midnapore, the 14th October 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President and Members of the Sudder Adalat, dated Midnapore, the 14th October 1773.

‡ Enclosure to a letter from Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President and Members of the Sudder Adalat, dated Midnapore, the 14th October 1773.

§ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, Thomas Graham and W. Lambert, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 4th January 1774.—*Circular, Revenue Department.*

|| From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P.M. Dacres, H. Goodwin, T. Graham, W. Lambert and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 8th February 1774.—*Revenue Department.*

Honorable the President he was to cause to be carried into execution by the officers of the court, and conform to the orders which might from time to time accompany them.

Among the English records of the district belonging to the same month is found the following letter* :—“ Herewith you will receive the sentences of the Nizamut Adalat on sundry prisoners tried by the Foujdari Adalat of the district of Midnapore, under the seal of the Naib or representative of the Nazim, with his warrant affixed to each, agreeably to the enclosed list. You are hereby directed to deliver the same to the proper officers of the Foujdari Adalat, that the warrants of the Naib may be carried into execution.

Abstract of the warrants of the Naib Nazim :—

Prisoner's Name.	Crime.	Judgment.	Sentence.
Dullol Doss 	Rape ...	Guilty ...	Durrah 100.
Lowa 	Murder ...	Manslaughter ...	Death.

(A true extract.)

G. BOGLE.

* From Warren Hastings to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th February 1774.

CHAPTER VI.

LAND REVENUE.

Period 1771-1774.

It appears that in 1770 the Directors were disappointed in finding that the Midnapore revenues had not lately increased. They said in a General letter dated 23rd March, addressed to the Government*,—"As the whole state of your revenues will come under the observation of our Commissioners, we shall say the less on the little improvement which appears in the Midnapore collections, which by no means answer the expectations we formed on what our long possession of them might produce." The Company had found fault with Mr. Vansittart's administration of the revenues of the province. Mr. Baber, in a letter on the subject to the Collector-General, said†,—“If it would not be deemed foreign to the present purpose, I might here do a piece of justice to Mr. Vansittart's attention to, and capacity for, this branch of business, and indeed a piece of justice which the paragraph from the Company's General letter seems to require, by remarking that had the collections of these provinces been capable of any considerable increase, it would have been made by him. If the improvement of them is to be judged of by a comparison of others, I believe it will be found to stand this test. When Mr. Johnstone took the charge of them from the Nabob, their rents were only 4,62,036 Alla Sicca; he increased them in the time of his residence to 5,92,137 Alla Sicca, at which rate they continued until the time of Mr. Graham. As soon as this gentleman was appointed, he employed his attention in scrutinizing their state and condition, and from the materials which he thus obtained a very accurate statement was formed of what increase might be laid on the rents, and of what allowances, which had been established by the Moorish Government, might be resumed to the Company. According to this statement the collections to be paid to the Company were increased to 8,13,168. Not satisfied with the knowledge he had obtained through intermediate channels, Mr. Graham made a circuit of the provinces, that he might inform himself on the spot of their produce, extent, and cultivation. However, he did not discover on this circuit any further means of an increase, and they were settled at nearly the same rate the next year. When Mr. Vansittart was appointed Resident, he followed the example of his predecessor, and made a tour of the provinces likewise, and I suppose found the former settlement so near the real value of the lands that it would not bear an increase, without distressing the inhabitants, for he raised the rents only a few

* Extract from the General letter from Europe by the *Mansfield*, dated the 23rd March 1770, being the enclosure to a letter from Claud Russell, Collector-General, to Mr. Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th January 1771.

† No. 12. From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 30th January 1771.

hundred rupees, except in the western jungles. But as these jungles have not been sufficiently reduced to pay their rents peaceably, I shall only remark that hitherto the annual expense of sending troops to quiet disturbances and to reduce these unruly inhabitants to obedience has been as great as their annual rents. I hope that Mr. Vansittart's settlement of these collections will hereafter be realized to the Company without any of these deductions. But I apprehend an increase in their rents is scarcely to be effected, as the principal parts of these jungles is waste land without inhabitants. From this sketch of the province it will appear that the revenues have been nearly doubled since they have been in the Company's possession, and from all the information I have obtained it appears that the rents cannot be raised higher without distressing the inhabitants. As a corroborating instance to those I have already given how nearly the rents are raised to the value of the lands, I beg leave to inform you that many talooks have been obliged to be sold every year since the settlement made in Mr. Graham's time on account of the talookdars being unable to fulfil their engagements. It should also be considered that until Mr. Graham's time the settlement of the revenues was rather nominal than real, as the amount of what appeared on paper was not collected; but, on the contrary, large balances remained. Since that period the revenues have been completely collected and realized to the Company. In the year 1767 this province suffered a severe loss by drought to the amount of Rs. 1,50,000. Last year's calamity and its dreadful consequences are too recent for me to remind you of them. These accidents are not only great impediments to the improvement of the revenues, but have been the occasion of encumbrances upon them. I mean the tegavy which the Company have been obliged to lend in order to enable the ryots to cultivate the lands. If we have two or three succeeding favourable seasons the country will recover itself, and the ryots be able to pay their rents without the assistance they now receive from the Company of tegavy, which is so much money sunk for a time.

"Both Mr. Graham and Mr. Vansittart made the zemindars enter into engagements to cultivate all the waste lands in their several districts, and gave all the encouragement they could to induce them to cultivate the most useful produce. These engagements have been very strictly attended to, so that I do not see any means of increasing the revenues of the provinces of Midnapore and Jellasure. Were it possible to induce the inhabitants of the country adjacent to the western jungles to come and settle in them, their rents might be considerably augmented; but this is a project more to be wished than expected."

In December 1771 Mr. Baber argued* against the expectation of an increase in the settlement of the rents of the two provinces for the year. Mr. Baber simply put on the increase of Rs. 9,000 in order to collect in the remainder of a balance which was originally occasioned by a deduction made in Mr. Vansittart's time on account of two unfavourable seasons. Besides this amount Mr. Baber intended to stipulate for the payment of the remaining half of the sum remitted in

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 7th December 1771.

the year of the famine. That sum was Rs. 27,000, half of which was recovered in the previous year. Mr. Baber went on to say,—“There is a custom in these provinces which has prevailed many years, and which, I believe, was prevalent in the Nabob’s time in many parts of the provinces of Bengal; but as it appears to me to be of a pernicious tendency, I beg leave to point it out to you, gentlemen, that you may judge of it: it is called *halbunjun*. The interpretation of these two words gives the precise meaning of the custom, which is breaking in upon the new year’s rents. For instance, the Orissa year ends in August; a part of the approaching new year’s rent is brought into the August kist. The amount of the *halbunjun* of the two provinces is a lakh and ninety thousand rupees. Now, if you gentlemen should disapprove of this system, and would have it abolished, this sum must be deducted from the present settlement; for if there are no resources to admit of an increase of the rents, it will appear that the same sum, which is the amount of fourteen or fifteen months’ kists, cannot be paid within twelve. In order to illustrate this position, permit me to explain myself a little further. Suppose the rents from September 1770 to August 1771 are ten lakhs of rupees, this sum is collected in at the expiration of the year; but then a lakh and ninety thousand rupees of the rents of 1772 are forestalled and paid at the end of the year 1771. If, therefore, they are not permitted to break in upon the new year’s rents, there will be a deficiency of this sum.

“I am well aware this will appear a large deduction, and whether you, gentlemen, think the abolition of this custom (which has prevailed ever since this was a province) ought to take place at this expense, is a point you are the best judges of. I only mention the circumstance, as I think it my duty to give you every information in my power of the real state of the revenues under my charge. I would beg leave to submit to your consideration, with all deference to your superior judgments, the following circumstance, whether this system should be abolished at once or by degrees, in the space of three or four years, in which time perhaps some sources of increase may be discovered adequate to the annual deduction. I flatter myself the proposed settlement will meet with your approbation, and I should be glad to be favoured with your sentiments as soon as it is convenient, since your sanction is only wanting to conclude this business.” Being called upon for further exposition regarding the bad tendency of the custom of *halbhanjan*, Mr. Baber said:—“I have already mentioned in my letter* of the 7th ultimo what I judged one strong objection to it, namely, that it was breaking in upon the new year’s rents. Whatever sum is collected from the ryot on this account the zemindar receives without interest; and though it is, in fact, money lent in advances, yet custom has made it be looked upon by the ryot as a part of his rents, and he advances it without any compensation of interest, which is certainly a hardship and a loss to him. But what I apprehend as the most dangerous consequence is that it opens a door to a very pernicious practice, and this is, that if a zemindar

* From Edward Baber to the Hon’ble the President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 12th January 1772.

should have squandered away his rents and is hard pressed at the end of the year, he will increase the halbunjun on the ryot in proportion to his wants, and, without looking to futurity, rack his pergunnah to relieve his present distresses; and if he should have art enough to increase the halbunjun without being discovered until it came so high that necessity obliges the poor ryot to complain (for the zemindars have such an influence over them that they must be pressed very hard before their sufferings can get the better of their fears), I am afraid the consequence will then be that a deduction must be made in proportion to the exaction. But allowing, gentlemen, that these objections are not of sufficient weight to induce you to abolish the custom, permit me to ask if it is not rather a fallacious statement of the revenue to take from the succeeding year's rents in order to pay the present, and whether it is not an incumbrance from which it will in the end be better to divest the estate."

It is incidentally mentioned in a postscript to this letter that the season for collecting the halbhanjan did not commence till June. In a subsequent communication* Mr. Baber said that the custom of halbhanjan had existed so long that its continuance for two or three years more could be of no detriment to the country; therefore, though sanction had been obtained to its abolition, yet the Resident recommended that as the Company would suffer a diminution in the revenue by its immediate abolition adequate to the amount of the halbhanjan, which was nearly two lakhs of rupees, in order to obviate so great a deficiency of the rents a gradual abolition should be introduced by prohibiting it first in such of the pergunnahs as from plentiful harvests could afford to pay their rents without halbhanjan. Strict attention on the part of the Resident to the business of the collections would enable him to eradicate the custom in the course of two or three years, without one-fourth of the loss that would be incurred by doing it at once. The Government† finally resolved that the custom of halbhanjan was to be abolished by degrees. The reasons Mr. Baber assigned for offering his plan to the consideration of Government were said to be very just, and met with approval. The abolition was therefore to be carried into execution in the manner Mr. Baber had pointed out.

In October 1771 it was reported‡ that the collections, in the two provinces, of the Orissa year 1178, or, according to the Christian era, of the year commencing with the month of August 1770 and ending with September 1771, had been completed without any balances remaining, on which the Government expressed their satisfaction.§

In 1772, with regard to the misconduct of a zemindar, the Resident wrote the following letter to Mr. Aldersey||:—"Dear Sir,—As the

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President and Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 27th April 1772.

† From Warren Hastings, Mr. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, James Harris, James Lawrell, H. Goedwin, and T. Graham, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 8th May 1772.

‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble the President and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue of Fort William, dated the 8th October 1771.

§ From John Cartier, Samuel Middleton, Claud Russell, and John Reed, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 8th October 1771.

|| From Edward Baber to William Aldersey, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 7th July 1772.

authority of the President is devolved to you by the absence of Mr. Hastings, I beg leave to request the favour of you to send hither an unruly subject of mine who has fled to Calcutta without any leave and without giving any information. The person is the Rajah of Kashijora. The Orissa year is within two months of its expiration, and he is above sixty thousand rupees in arrears. The necessity of his presence must be therefore very obvious. But the manner of his elopement makes it still more necessary that he should be sent back immediately. I had required his attendance at Midnapore on urgent business. Conscious of his remissness in paying his revenue, he made his escape to Calcutta instead of obeying my orders. This is a complication of refractory behaviour, and it is needless to point out to you the bad consequence which must result from this contemptuous treatment of the Resident's authority. I have only therefore to add my wishes that he may be immediately ordered to return, and that in such a manner as will show him he will meet with the same resentment for a contempt of the authority which you, gentlemen, have been pleased to delegate, as he would for a contempt of the power that confers it." In a postscript the Resident wrote,—“If you should not know where to find this man, Cossinaut, Mr. Russell's banyan, can inform you, as he is gone to him.”

In August 1772 it was ordered* that an advertisement should be published inviting proposals for farming the lands of the Midnapore and Jellasure districts. “You will be pleased,” said the Secretary to the Council in writing to Mr. Baber, “to prepare a rent-roll and jumma wasilbakee of your districts for three or four years past, an account of the collections for the same space of time, and an account of the divisions into which you are of opinion the provinces of Midnapore and Jellasure should be separated for farming, so as to promise the most advantageous terms to the Company.

“Copies of the jumma wasilbakee and rent-roll of your districts are likewise to be exposed at the Sudder cutcherry to the examination of all persons, who are to have free access to them, and you are to signify the same to them by a public advertisement.

“When the period limited in the advertisement for the reception of proposals is expired, you will transmit all you shall have received to the Board at Calcutta, together with the above-mentioned papers and such others as you may deem necessary for their information and guidance in framing the settlement of your districts.” Mr. Baber replied†,—“In the regulations which accompanied the advertisement, I observe that the Collector's servants and dependents of all denominations are prohibited holding farms or having any connections. I beg leave to ask whether the present zemindars and talookdars of this province may be permitted to turn farmers; for if they are not, there is nobody in this country to make proposals, the whole of it being in the hands of hereditary zemindars, who derive their right from original sunnuds granted to their ancestors. This particular

* From W. Wynnes, Secretary, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 25th August 1772.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 1st September 1772.

circumstance relative to these provinces may probably merit your particular attention. In Lord Clive's administration the Select Committee had the same intention of farming them, but it was not carried into execution on this account."

In the year 1772 still further changes, in addition to those described in a preceding chapter, were made in the constitution of the highest courts of jurisdiction in revenue matters. In a letter addressed to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident of Midnapore, on the 13th October,* occur these words:—

"This serves to advise you that we have this day formed ourselves into a new Board of Revenue, consisting of the whole members of our Council, for conducting the business of that department at the Presidency, and we have in consequence to direct that you do regulate yourself accordingly in your future correspondence, observing always to address us as President and Council of Revenue whenever the business of the revenue may be concerned." In another communication, following almost immediately after, it is written†,—“As it has been thought expedient for the sake of conducting the business of the Khalsa with more ease and dispatch to have it superintended by a Member of the Board in monthly rotation, you are accordingly to correspond with him occasionally, and to obey all such orders as the Superintendent shall think it necessary to send you from time to time upon the subject of the revenue.” Bearing on the same subject is the following letter to the Resident‡:—“It having been resolved in the General Regulations for the establishment of the Khalsa at the presidency that all orders transmitted by the Board to the Collectors shall be translated, and counterparts thereof sent by the Roy Royan to the respective Duans, you will give the Duan of your district proper notice of this Regulation, directing him to obey all such orders as he shall receive through the channel of the Roy Royan in letters under the seal of the Khalsa and bearing his signature, and authenticated by the Superintending Member.” The Duan, or more properly written Dewan, of 1773 corresponds to a great extent with the sheristadar of the present day, who ought to be, and is generally, the most valuable native assistant the Collector has to consult in revenue matters.

A great innovation, and one fraught with great inconvenience, was introduced in December of the year 1772 with regard to the mode of payment of land revenue. Mr. Baber was apprised of it in these words§:—

“Several of the zemindars and talookdars of your districts having applied for permission to pay their rents immediately to the Khalsa, we have granted their request, and have in consequence to direct that you do consider them as separate from your collections.

* From Warren Hastings, Mr. Aldersey, Richard Barwell, James Harris, and H. Goodwin, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 13th October 1772.

† From Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, Thomas Lane, and Richard Barwell, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 27th October 1772.

‡ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, John Reed, Thomas Lane, H. Goodwin, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 12th January 1773.

§ From Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, John Reed, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 15th December 1772.

“ Accompanying you will receive a list of their names.”

Mr. Baber attributed the zemindars' application to be made khariji, as he called it, to jealousy of the Resident's interference with them, because they would not allow any authority over them to be left in the Resident's hands in any particular whatever, even in the execution of the Council's orders.* Instead of obedience on such occasions, the Resident met with nothing but insolence and defiance. The Resident added that he would not have alluded to the extraordinary trouble arising to him by this means from the fulfilling of the orders he received had he not great reason to think that the consequence of enforcing them would be falsehoods and groundless complaints, with which the Council would be continually pestered by the zemindars. He proceeded to say,—“ That you may be the better able, gentlemen, to judge with what defiance your orders, passing through my hands, to such as believe they are freed from my authority will be received, I beg leave to acquaint you with what passed in the execution of them a few days ago. The zemindar of the pergunnah of Kharrakpur is chowdry also, which is exactly of the same nature with that of the canoongo, and though not particularly specified in my letter, it comes under the general denomination, and I wish as well for the papers of his office as for those of the canoongos. The two peons despatched to him on that occasion received the papers from the naib, but before they had proceeded a mile on their return the zemindar sallied out at the head of a number of peons and matchlockmen, pursued and seized the peons, and carried them back prisoners to his house. Upon being informed of this, I sent a party of sepoys to release the peons, and to bring with them both the papers and the zemindar; for had I left unnoticed such an insult to your orders, the example would most probably have been followed by the canoongos in all the rest of the pergunnahs,—not, indeed, I believe with the same violence of this zemindar, who is a drunkard, not guided by reason but the worst principles, and who has been guilty of many extravagances in his pergunnah. As I am extremely cautious in taking any step towards the people of the khariji pergunnahs, lest it should interfere with your authority or exceed the bounds of the powers you have given me over them, I beg to receive your directions concerning this zemindar, whom I only detain here till he produces the papers required.” Subsequently the Resident represented† that until the existing system of the separation of the pergunnahs was thoroughly established, the line of authority distinctly drawn, and those points in which he was to have any voice left ascertained, the zemindars who had petitioned to be separated would not admit of even the least power being vested in him over them. The collections being no longer under his charge, they set themselves up as totally independent of him. He said,—“ Two or three points were left for me to adjust on my arrival here, but from this cause I have not yet been able to settle them, nor shall I without the interposition of your authority, for which I now beg leave to solicit, as the business

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Gentlemen of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1773.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 29th January 1773.

is entirely stopt. Immediately on my arrival I issued orders to the zemindars to send me an account of the *Bazzej jumma and Maroocha*, and to accompany this account with mochulcars. Notwithstanding my repeated orders, the Mayanachar zemindar persists in refusing to give me his. However, as I have obtained the rest, I will not wait any longer for him, but send them to you in a day or two. I also issued orders for the zemindars and talookdars to attend at Midnapore, that they might have their different proportions of rents settled in my presence, and what has been already paid, which is materially necessary for them to settle; because until that is finished you, gentlemen, cannot be informed of what sums they have to pay to you at the Khalsa for the remaining part of the year; and unless it is settled before me, you will have continual references to make to know what has been paid, as they will make a thousand delays and excuses, and assert they have paid sums they never have. To these orders, so necessary to be obeyed, several pergunnahs have paid no attention.

“I also sent orders on the zemindars who have salt lands to come and settle their contracts with the Company for this year, and to adjust their balances. The Mayanachara and Mirgoda zemindars have refused to come.”

With regard to the Kharrakpur Chowdhry the Government approved of the Resident's conduct in consequence of his ill-behaviour, and directed him to be kept in confinement till he furnished the papers required. “It is our determination,” said they,* “to support the authority of Government in the persons of their representatives wherever situated; and upon every occasion of the like nature, where the people subject to your jurisdiction refuse to submit to it, we authorize you to compel them by force. In the execution of this discretionary charge, we assure ourselves you will act with the greatest moderation, and that you will be particularly careful not to take upon trust the representations of the people you employ, who on such occasions never fail to exaggerate, if not falsify, from sinister or other motives, the circumstances they wish to relate.” This zemindar's conduct was also in other ways open to blame. In description of it, the Resident wrote†,—“Complaints having been made to me against Nurrahari Chowdhry, of Kharrakpur, I summoned him by a tullub chitty to appear at my cutcherry to answer them, which he absolutely refused to obey, alleging that he was not my ryot, but belonged to the mahl zamin. As, however, I was unwilling to proceed to extremities, I sent my nazir with a perwanah to bring him, upon which he raised a body of two hundred pikes, and has flown into the jungles. As such an open insult to my authority, if not taken proper notice of, may induce others to behave in the same manner, I have sent a party of sepoy to bring him in. The necessity of the case will, I hope, excuse me to you for so doing. I beg leave to assure you, sir, I shall avoid on all occasions sending sepoy into the mofussil, when it can be done consistent with

* *Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, William Robert Barker, William Aldersey, and Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 5th February 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, the 7th June 1773.

the public good. This Nurraharri Chowdhry is a most worthless drunken fellow. He has collected upwards of Rs. 6,000 of the canongo's nankar, of which I have not been able to make him account for a single rupee." The conduct of the Mayanachara zemindar was even more insubordinate than that of the Kharrakpur Chowdhry.* As soon as his petition was received for paying his rents at Calcutta, he immediately threw off all obedience to Mr. Baber's authority. The tehsildar had collected Rs. 1,400 of the kists that were due before the zemindar had presented any petition to pay his rents at Calcutta: this sum the zemindar forcibly seized. Apparently the zemindar's necessities, arising from his profligate conduct, induced him to seize the money: he oppressed his ryots and cheated everybody who trusted him. When the province was in the hands of the Nabobs, he was a great favourite at court, and scarcely paid anything for his pergunnah. Though an increase was laid on his rent by the Company, he continued the same expenses, and indulged the same extravagance of pomp and show, as when he was possessed of a plentiful estate. He was always backward in his rents, and driven to the utmost distress to pay them. The consequence was that he had reduced a most flourishing pergunnah to a very wretched state. When questioned about the disposal of the money he had seized, he replied that he had carried it to Calcutta, where he had gone himself.

It was decided† that an example should be made of this zemindar for the disrespectful manner in which he had treated Mr. Baber's authority as Collector and representative of the Company in Midnapore, for which purpose a perwanah was enclosed from the President directing the zemindar to proceed immediately to the presidency. The zemindar detained‡ the harkaras charged with the perwanah; but one of them managed to make his escape, and reported that the zemindar had retired to his fort, surrounded with two ditches, a wet and a dry one, both very wide and deep. On an apprehension of any disagreeable orders he was wont to shut himself in this fort, so that no person might approach him; and it was in this manner that he was endeavouring to elude obedience to the perwanah he had received. The Government then resolved§ that he should be apprehended and sent down prisoner directly to the presidency. A party of sepoy¶ under Lieutenant Robert Baillie was sent to seize him, but he was not to be found, and it was stated¶ that he had gone to Calcutta. The officer took possession of the Mayanachara fort, and a small guard was thrown into it to prevent the zemindar's repossessing himself of it; and it was reiterated that, if possible, the zemindar should be discovered and sent a

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, the 6th January 1773.

† From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, John Reed, Richard Barwell, Thomas Lane, H. Goodwin, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 19th January 1773.

‡ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1773.

§ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th February 1773.

¶ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 24th February 1773.

¶ From Robert Baillie, to Edward Baber, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Mayanachara Fort, Saturday, February 1773.

prisoner to Calcutta. "From* the repeated instances we have experienced," said the Government, "of this man's rebellious and insolent behaviour, and of his bad disposition and character, we have resolved that he shall be wholly dispossessed of his zemindari; and further, for the sake of public example, that the inheritance be entirely alienated from his family, and disposed of for the highest nuzzurannee that shall be offered for the sunnud of the zemindari, agreeing further to the terms of the present lease commencing with the new settlement, the nuzzurannee to be applied to discharging the zemindar's just debts, and the new zemindar is also to be responsible for an annual sum equal to ten per cent. of the net revenue for the support of the late zemindar's family." Notwithstanding all endeavours, the Raja of Mayanachara could not be found after the most diligent search.† A small guard was therefore stationed in his fort. As he was considerably in arrears of rent, all his goods were seized, also elephants and horses. It was advised that the ramparts of the fort should be thrown down and the ditches filled up, as it would not be of the least use to the Company, and it should not be allowed to remain in a state of any strength or defence; for Mr. Baber was well convinced that the Raja would not have presumed to have gone the lengths he did had not his folly been flattered by a seeming security in this place. It might hereafter, it was feared, tempt some inconsiderate person to a like foolish and obstinate conduct. In August 1773‡ the Government confirmed the succession of the zemindari of Mayanachara to the infant son of the Raja, who had been dispossessed. The guards posted in the habitation of the former Raja were withdrawn. Such a guard, however, was still to be retained within the works of the fort as might effectually secure to Government the possession of it, in case it might be at any time required.

Notwithstanding these acts of insubordination on the part of two of the zemindars of the district, the result of the transfer to Calcutta of payment of revenue due from landholders in Midnapore, it was still said that in order to regulate the collections in such a manner as might put a final period to the complaints which had arisen and hitherto impeded them, certain pergunnahs were to be included§ under the "Huzzoor-tehsil," the whole revenue of which was to be paid at Calcutta; all the rest were to pay their rents at the Sudder cutcherry at Midnapore.

In September 1772 the Government ordered an investigation into the circumstances of the allowances granted to the canoongos of the two provinces. It was reported || that they used to receive nankar, rasum and dastur, which comprehended the whole of their perquisites

* From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th March 1773.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of the Council of Revenue of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 7th April 1773.

‡ *Revenue Department*.—From W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, H. Goodwin, and J. Graham, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 24th August 1773.

§ From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th March 1773.

|| From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 25th September 1772.

and allowances. The Government ordered all future payments to be suspended, and the Resident in submitting a further report said *,—
 “ Upon inquiry into the original grants of the king to the canoongos, I find that according to the tuxem papers of Tourdomool, who was deputed by one of the Moguls to settle this province, that their nankar amounts only to Rs. 2,000 per annum. In the accounts these people have delivered into the Board, they have forged a claim to Rs. 15,000 nankar. That they collect Rs. 15,000 from the pergunnahs, where they are only entitled to Rs. 2,000, is, I believe, very certain, and I fancy it will be found upon inquiry that they get more even than this sum. As your orders express that they shall receive only what they are entitled to by their original grants, I make no doubt that you, gentlemen, will not admit their false account of 15,000 rupees, but confine them to their real claim of 2,000 rupees, which I will pay agreeable to your orders from the treasury, and bring the remainder of this nancar, whatever it may be, to the Company's credit; by which I flatter myself with being able to add an increase of 12 or 14,000 rupees to the malguzarry. In obedience to your orders I have sent for all the papers in the possession of the canoongos, but I am sorry to acquaint you that I meet with all that delay, chicanery, and opposition which can be found in a set of people whose minds are particularly turned to low cunning, and who are averse to relinquish any part of that authority which they have so long exercised so much to their own advantage.” The Government, in answer, said, — “ With respect to the nancar to the canoongos in your district, by the word tuxem, we can only understand an estimated valuation of the lands; and if the two thousand rupees fixed by the royal sunnud in the tuxem of Tooroomul for the canongos' allowance was a part of the zemindars' rents thus passed to their account, they are undoubtedly entitled to a proportion in the increase in the general rents of the province since that time. But if this grant was a rent-charge payable in money only, and fixed to that sum, your conclusion is very just. We do therefore in this case confirm it, and the canoongos must abide by it.” In reply the Resident remarked,—
 “ The‡ nancar of the canoongos is no part of the rents of the zemindar, but an assignment obtained entirely independent of and distinct from the malguzarry. Neither an increase nor a diminution of the rents in the least affected the canoongo; he neither contributed to the former nor reaped any advantage from the latter. When the appointment was made the king allowed them 2,000 rupees annually for wages; but agreeably with the custom of the country, this was not paid from the royal treasury, but a certain portion of land supposed to yield so much was separated from the malguzarry and assigned to them. The present system is quite opposite to this. You intend to pay their wages in money, and to resume the land which was appropriated for that purpose. Having sufficient reason to fear some

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Gentlemen of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1773.

† From Warren Hastings, W. Robert Barker, W. Aldersey, Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 5th February 1773.

‡ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 15th February 1773.

regulation of this kind, the canoongos endeavoured to provide against it by forging a claim to Rs. 15,000, which (if you, gentlemen, should take into your hands for the Company the land granted to them in lieu of wages) they would demand. Now they certainly have no claim to more wages than the royal sunnuds stipulate, which is only Rs. 2,000. If they receive this in money, the land must fall entirely into the possession of the Company, and whatever it yields be brought to their credit. This is so very agreeable to reason and justice that neither a zemindar or canoongo can offer a specious argument against it; for, as I have said before, the land of a canoongo is not of the estate of a zemindar. They are wholly unconnected, and no part of what is paid by the latter to Government is in consideration of any part of what is held by the former; who, again, cannot with justice bring any complaint, seeing he will receive that sum for the payment of which only so much land was granted to him. Accompanying this, gentlemen, you will receive an account of the nankar of Narran Chowdry, which is exactly of the same nature with that of the canoongos. By this account you will see that he was allowed Rs. 719-8-13, for the payment of which 776-3-18 beeghas of land were granted, and this land appears on a hustabood to yield Rs. 6,763, which exceeds the tuxem jumma, or estimated valuation, Rs. 5,044-7-1. You have been pleased to direct that, as officers of the ancient constitution, the registering of all deeds, contracts, and grants of lands, shall be continued to the canoongos as formerly, in consideration of which they shall **still receive their allowance of nankar**. Now the chowdry does not stand in the same Predicament with them here, as he never had any such office. He only copied the papers of the canoongos, as they did those of the phogedar, employment now useless and abolished by your order, and consequently the whole of his nankar falls to the Company; nor has he the common plea to an allowance for the resumption of his lands, as he is a considerable zemindar with very handsome emoluments independent of this allowance, which was granted him for doing the business of an office that no longer exists. I therefore propose bringing the whole of what this land yields to the Company's malguzarry, which upon further scrutiny, I imagine, will be more than what appears from the hustabood papers from which I have taken the present account.

"An account of the nankar and dustoor of the Sudder Chowdry of Midnapore, taken from the tuxem papers of Touramul.

	Beeghas appropriated for the payment of the Chowdry's nankar.	Command jumma, or valued amount of this land.	Hustabood according to the Chowdry's account, or value on a scrutiny.
	B. K. C.	B. K. C.	B. K. C.
Chuckla Midnapore, nankar ...	7,763 18 0	719 8 13	6,763 15 14
Ditto ditto, dustoor ...	.....	.....	724 7 10
Total ...	.....	.....	7,488 7 4 "

Finally, in March 1773, the Government came to a decision in these words* :—"According to the light in which it appears to us from your representation that the original immunities were granted to the canoongos, we have determined that you shall tender them their ready money allowance of two thousand rupees per annum, with which, if they are dissatisfied, you will desire them to make their appeal to us, where their rights and pretensions will be inquired into and finally determined. Whatever you may collect from these lands you will keep as a deposit till you have transmitted us the accounts of the hustabood you are now making. You are likewise to act in the same manner with respect to the nancar of Nurrur Chowdry, and when the accounts come before us we will pass a final determination regarding them."

There appear in 1773 to have been certain cesses or imposts collected by the zemindars of estates under the name of bazi jumma and maraucha.† There was furnished an account particular which showed that under the head of bazi jumma they collected fines for theft, tax or chauth on money lent, tax on the division of estates or property between relations (estates of those who died without issue), tax on a person's receiving a sunnud for being readmitted to his caste after having been detected in offending against the custom of it, tax on a ryot first settling in a pergunnah, fines for committing fornication, or quarrels, &c. Under the head of maraucha was collected a tax on marriages, comprehending several articles, all appertaining to the ceremony. The Government order ‡ a suspension to the amount of Rs. 40,000 in the course of the current kists on account of Mr. Baber's demand for these taxes, which, on an average, in the year the zemindars, according to their papers calculated to be Rs. 53,560-9-15 in collections,§ while the canoongos had estimated them to be Rs. 57,000 ; whereas the Collector, deducting one-fourth part, said that the sum actually collected could not exceed Rs. 40,170-7-8. The suspension was to continue till the Resident had the final determination|| of the Government regarding the remissions to be allowed consequent on the contemplated abolition of the two taxes.

In May 1773 the Government were concerned¶ to observe the heavy balances outstanding in the districts, more especially on account of pergunnahs Midnapore and Sabang, in which latter** there were

* From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th March 1773.

† From the Resident to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Resident and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of the Council of Revenue of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 7th April 1773.

‡ From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th March 1773.

§ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., President, &c., Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 3rd February 1773.

|| From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th March 1773.

¶ From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th May 1773.

** From Samuel Lewis to the Honorable Warren Hastings, President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 24th June 1773.

only talookdars and no zemindar. The rents of Ghatsila also were Rs. 6,000 in arrear owing to the disturbances in the jungles. However, the Resident said *,—"As the ryots of Ghatsila are now in quiet possession of their grounds and the peace of the jungles perfectly established, I am in great hopes of recovering a considerable part of that pergunnah, more especially as two companies of sepoy are now stationed there for the protection of the inhabitants, which will, I flatter myself, be sufficient to deter the independent Rajahs from molesting the Company's possessions." By August the balance,† exclusive of what was due from the jungle mehals, was reduced to Rs. 3,655. Exclusive of the year's tashkhis, there had been recovered Rs. 32,394-12-7, being on account of old balances, pulbandi, and tuccavee. But in November the Collector wrote ‡,—“The zemindars and talookdars have represented to me the severe loss they have sustained from heavy rains and floods in the month of September last, and that the major part of the paddy which escaped being overflowed is now spoiling for want of rain at the latter end of the season. Accompanying I enclose an account of the loss they say they have sustained. Though I believe this may be rather exaggerated, I can assure you, gentlemen, many of the pergunnahs have suffered considerably, having myself gone to examine the state of them. As the real damage can be ascertained only by a local investigation, I request your permission to go into the different parts, when an exact account shall be made out and transmitted to you.” And the Government said in reply §,—“The zemindars' complaints for the losses they have sustained appear so greatly exaggerated that we can place no manner of dependence upon them. We have particularly to observe that the loss pretended to be suffered in Mayanachara exceeds the revenue for the whole year. We can only, under such circumstances, seeing local examinations by native ameens are so open to fraud and exaggerations, leave it to your discretion to collect the kists with such a degree of patience and forbearance from the zemindars as may prevent their being driven to exercise severity towards their ryots. In the meanwhile you will endeavour to obtain exacter accounts by private inquiries, and deter the zemindars from preferring false complaints, by acquainting them that, if they do not fulfil their engagements, they must expect to be dispossessed of their lands, and have them put into the hands of farmers.”

The following letter and regulations that accompanied it will throw considerable light on the responsibilities that were supposed to attach to zemindars from the possession of their estates||:—

“Herewith we send for your guidance some regulations which we have thought proper to establish. Should it be necessary to dispose of

* From Samuel Lewis to the Honorable the President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 27th July 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to the Honorable the President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 19th August 1773.

‡ From Samuel Lewis to the Honorable the President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 3rd November 1773.

§ *Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, Robert Barker, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 5th November 1773.

|| *Circular, Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 20th April 1773.

any of the lands in your district on account of balances, and any offers be made you in consequence, you will write us fully of the circumstances, particularizing the settlement, receipts and balances of the zemindar whose lands it is proposed to sell, with a full account in Persian or Bengalee of the jumma, &c., the name and character of the person who offers to purchase them, the sum he would give, and whether he is willing to confirm his predecessor's engagements with the Government, and you will not give possession to the person who offers to purchase till you receive our orders.

"The President recommends the following queries to the consideration of the Board. As they relate to points which frequently occur in the management of the revenue, the determination of general rules to be observed in them would conduce to the dispatch of business and render our orders uniform :—

"*Question 1.*—A zemindar or talookdar enters into engagement with the Government for the payment of a revenue of Rs. 10,000. By the end of the year he has paid Rs. 8,000; a balance of Rs. 2,000 remains due from him, and he has no means of discharging it, but by the sale of the whole or a part of his talook. Shall it be sold, or what measures shall be pursued ?

"*Question 2.*—A zemindar has entered into engagements with the Government; a merchant has been security for him. The talook has remained under the entire management of the zemindar; a balance is incurred, the security is made to pay it. The talook must be sold either to the security himself, or to some other person, or he must lose his money. What shall be done ?

"*Question 3.*—The zemindar and his security disagree; the security wants to take the management into his own

"The Board having duly considered the several points proposed for their determination, resolve upon the following rules :—

"*Answer 1.*—Sale shall be made of such part of the talook as may be requisite to discharge the Government balance, and a sunnud from the Khalsa shall be granted to the purchaser.

"*Answer 2.*—In this and the following case, if any written agreement has been made between the security and the zemindar, such agreement must be observed. If no such agreement has been made, the talook shall be sold to the best bidder, and the security paid out of the purchase money; but the sale of the talook shall be a full release to the zemindars from all demands on the part of the security, although the sum which may be produced by it should not be sufficient for the entire payment of the debt.

"*Answer 3.*—Whilst the zemindar pays his kists with punctuality, he shall not be removed from the management of his own lands; but he shall be removed

hands. Shall he be authorized to do this or not? If not, is he nevertheless to be responsible. If he is authorized, what allowance is to be given to the zemindar; and is the zemindar still to be deemed responsible?

upon his first failure, and receive for his subsistence an allowance of 10 per cent. upon the net revenue. We mean by a failure, the half of any kist remaining unpaid at the close of the kist. The security shall not take possession, however, by his own authority, but must be furnished with orders from the Khalsa or the Collector; and whenever a Collector puts a security in possession, he is immediately to address this Board, with his reasons at large. A zemindar, though thus removed from the management of his lands, is not released from his engagements. His inheritance must still be answerable for the payment of his revenue, because his being deprived of the management has been occasioned entirely by his own fault, and would not have happened had he strictly adhered to his agreement. Before the sale, however, examination must be made into the security's account, as the zemindar cannot be responsible for the security's embezzlements during his management of the lands. Should the Government in any instance have greater dependence on the zemindar than on the security, and in consequence not allow the security to take upon himself the management of the talook upon the zemindar's failure in his kists, the security must then be considered as released from his engagements.

*“ Question 4.—*Suppose a zemindar dispossessed of his lands, is he answerable for debts contracted by him at any periods of time whilst he had possession?

*“ Answer 4.—*Yes; unless a mortgage was given on the zemindari, or the money borrowed was applied to the payment of the revenue, in which cases the zemindari is answerable—in such manner, however, as only to deprive the new zemindar of a part of his profits, not to subject him to any loss, nor affect the revenue of the Government. No mortgage to be deemed valid from the present period unless registered in the public cutcherry, and all mortgages which are now in being to be brought to the public cutcherry to be registered before the 1st of Assin next, or else to be of no force.

"Zemindars, by the nature of their tenures, have no longer a right to their lands than whilst they pay their revenue, and we deem the sale of their talooks both a juster and a more useful measure than subjecting them to corporal punishment. Should they at any time be prevented from fulfilling their engagements by unavoidable accidents, rather than by their own misconduct, we reserve to ourselves the right of allowing them such indulgence as equity may require."

The Resident, in reply to the Council of Revenue, said * :—"The regulations have been translated and copies delivered to the zemindars. Should any of them, by neglecting to pay their kists, render it necessary to dispose of their lands, I shall acquaint you fully with all the circumstances, specifying the name and character of the person who offers to purchase them, and wait your orders."

It appears that in 1773 † there were embankments in Kashijora, Amarsi, Mayanachar, besides other pergunnahs. In fact, so widely extended and important was the system of embankments even at so early a period of Midnapore history, that yearly advances (in the case of Kashijora 3,500 sicca rupees) were made for the repairs of the bunds and considered as an allowance from Government. Proper people were also sent ‡ at times to inquire into the state of the pulbandi of the district. It is necessary to bear in mind a remark made by the Government of the day on the subject of the maintenance and repairs of embankments. They said §,—"As it was determined at the settlement of your district that the expense of pulbundi should be defrayed by Government agreeable to the custom which prevails in the other pergunnahs of Bengal, we are of opinion that in the conducting this business the landholders themselves will be the properest agents, and most likely, from the interest they will have in the work, to attend to its being completed in a secure manner. Should this mode, however, be adopted, effectual checks will be necessary to prevent overcharges and exaggerated accounts, as also to see that the work is properly executed and on a durable plan, which we direct you to attend to."

In October 1773 it was ruled|| that in case of claims for debts being made upon a renter, the Collector was to cause him to pay his debts, if it could be done without prejudice to the revenue. If it could not, the Collector was to represent the circumstances to the Board, that he might be removed from his farm and imprisoned at the suit of his creditor, after the necessary measures were taken to secure the Government balances and to prevent the desertion of the ryots and the embezzlement of the collections. And in February 1774 regulations¶

* From Samuel Lewis to the Council of Revenue, dated (most probably) 1st May 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to George Vansittart, Esq., Superintendent of the Khalsa, dated Midnapore, the 1st November 1773.

‡ From Samuel Lewis to John Graham, Esq., Superintendent of Khalsa, dated Midnapore, the 27th August 1773.

§ *Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, Richard Barwell and H. Goodwin, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th February 1773.

|| *Circular, Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, Robert Barker, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 29th October 1773.

¶ *Revenue Department*.—Enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, J. Graham, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 18th February 1774.

were issued in regard to the debts of zemindars and the suits which might be instituted before the courts of adalat for the recovery of them.

“ Copy of regulations for the conduct of the Provincial Councils in regard to the debts of zemindars.

“No debts shall be taken cognizance of which were contracted antecedent to the Company’s acquisition of the Dewani without our previous orders.

“With respect to debts contracted since that period, we direct your attention to the following regulations.

“If the lands are farmed out and an allowance fixed for the zemindar’s expenses, as far as one-half of this allowance may, on the occasion of such suits, be appropriated for the discharge of the decrees that may be passed.

“If the lands are nominally farmed by the zemindars, but actually managed by the securities, the same mode may still be adopted for fulfilling the just demands against the zemindars, care being previously taken to secure the punctual and complete payments of the public revenue. In cases where the zemindars are themselves the farmers of the lands and managers of the revenue, we leave it to you to obtain a knowledge of their income, and apply such part of their profits for the discharge of their debts, after securing the public revenue, as circumstances will admit.

“The creditors themselves may be called upon to point out some mode by which their debts may be recovered without prejudice to the Company’s revenue. Should none occur but the sale of the zemindari, a reference must be made to us, with a full account of the circumstances, before you proceed to that extremity.

“In explanation of these rules we think it necessary to give you this additional direction, that we would in no case allow a debt to be implicitly established upon the party’s producing a bond, because we have reason to believe that such vouchers are invariably granted or exacted upon the adjustment of accounts, in which adjustment large sums are often deducted for dustore and salamies, and others accumulated for exorbitant interest. It must therefore be the duty of the Superintendent of the Adalat to trace all demands of any consideration back to their original source, and having formed and recorded a clear state of them previous to his passing judgment, determine the degree of reparation to which the parties may in equity be deemed entitled, in doing which he will allow interest at the rates prescribed in the 18th Article of our original plan for the administration of justice.

“If, in taking cognizance of such suits, any person shall appear to have been guilty of exorbitant usury or violent oppression in the course of contracting and receiving his debts, we think in such case his demand should be invalidated, even altho’ he is possessed of a bond upon the adjustment of accounts.”

As miscellaneous matter of minor interest connected with the revenue, it might be stated that in February 1773* the Hon’ble

* From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, Thomas Laue, and H. Goodwin, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Madnapore, dated Fort William, the 19th February 1773.

Court of Directors having been pleased to direct that no Collectors of their revenue should remain at one station more than two years, the Resident was desired to prepare himself to deliver over the charge of his district by the first of Baisakh next.

In March 1773 Mr. Edward Baber was addressed as Collector of Midnapore* by Mr. Higginson, the Secretary to the Board of Revenue at Fort William. By Warren Hastings and others he was styled sometimes Resident at Midnapore,† sometimes Collector‡ of Midnapore.

The Government in the Revenue Department in August 1773, having understood that it had been customary among some of the Collectors to correspond with each other in the Persian language, thought it necessary expressly to prohibit§ this practice, as well because they deemed it improper between English Collectors, as because, where they were not possessed of an immediate and actual knowledge of that language, it might occasionally subject them to be imposed upon by their munshis, and be productive of the consequence of embroiling the affairs of their respective districts. At the same time it was admitted that the Government had not had any information of the interdicted practice having been adopted by Mr. Lewis, but the directions were circulated to him that they might remain a standing order in his collectorate.

In September 1773 a charge|| of Rs. 15 was made for Bengal "chattas" (umbrellas) for the Bakshis, &c., which were said to be absolutely necessary to preserve the papers, &c., from wet in carrying them to and from the factory house.

* From Mr. Higginson to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 23rd March 1773.

† From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated 26th March 1773.

‡ From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated the 13th April 1773.

§ *Circular, Revenue Department.*—From W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 6th August 1773.

|| From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 10th September 1773.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMERCIAL.

Period 1764—1774.

IN the foregoing chapters some account of the historical events connected with the district and of its revenue administration has been attempted. The present chapter will disclose some of the commercial transactions in which the Company's servants engaged, whether for their own aggrandizement or in the interest of their honourable masters.

In February 1764* Mr. Anselm Beaumont was said to have sent treasure and piece-goods to Calcutta; some of the latter were so damaged that on being re-washed they were found not to be in a proper condition to be sent home. They were sold to the best advantage in Calcutta. In a communication of a later date,† the Resident was reminded that he must take care that in all the coloured goods the colours were bright and lively.

In October‡ it was thought necessary to regulate the inland trade with a view to put it upon such a footing as might prevent any future disputes with the Government of the country. It was therefore resolved expressly to forbid all Company's servants, and others residing under the Company's protection, from raising salt-works (as "*collarees*" or "*toffuls*") or making salt upon the grounds in any part except in the territories appertaining to the Company; that all claims to any such grounds should be immediately relinquished, and application would be made to the Nabob on behalf of the claimants to order the zemindars to discharge in money such balances of former years and advances of the current season as might appear to be justly due upon examination of the accounts with the molungees.

Mr. Watts,§ when he succeeded Mr. Beaumont, made a contract, in December, with the merchants for 12,700 pieces of different cloths, the value of which would amount to about Rs. 90,000, and the whole quantity was to be delivered before the end of February. In a few days he said he hoped to dispatch about 5,000 pieces, and early in January a like quantity. With the first dispatch of cloth would be sent Rs. 1,00,000. All money or treasure remitted to Calcutta was the proceeds of the land revenue collections. On the 28th December||

* From Henry Vansittart, W. Billers, Warren Hastings, R. Marriott, H. Watts, and R. Leicester, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th February 1764.

† List of goods to be provided at Midnapore for the year 1763-4, compared with the list received per *Lapwing Snow*, being the enclosure to a letter from J. Graham to the Resident, dated 12th March 1764.

‡ From Henry Vansittart, J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, Warren Hastings, H. Watts, S. Middleton, R. Leicester, and J. Burdett, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, dated Fort William, the 3rd October 1764.

§ From H. Watts, Esq., to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 7th December 1764.

|| From H. Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 28th December 1764.

he sent eleven chests of treasure and ninety-four bales of cloth to Calcutta. Subsequently he wrote* saying that he found the fabric of the cloths he had just sent down to Fort William in general very bad, chiefly arising from the small quantity of silk in each piece. He ordered musters to be made of a superior quality of silk, which, when finished, would be forwarded to the Committee of "Aurrungs." By the end of January 1765 Mr. Watts expected to dispatch 100 more bales.

In January 1765† he said that weavers with reluctance manufactured the coarse nillaes, and therefore the article would always fall very deficient in quantity, and would be during the current year. If the middling sortment was increased in the ensuing year, the whole of the Hon'ble Company's orders for this article might be completed. In the same month he was requested‡ to use his utmost endeavours to collect in the remains of his investment to enable the Company's last ship for Europe to be dispatched as soon as possible.

The Committee of Works in Calcutta§ were much in want of bricklayers for the service of the new fort in Calcutta, and Mr. Watts was required to engage as many as he possibly could on the most reasonable terms to repair for that purpose to Calcutta. He replied|| that there were no bricklayers acquainted with this business to be had in the two provinces.

In January also it was ordered¶ that the accounts of the mercantile concerns and those of the revenues should be kept, after the expiration of the current year, in separate sets of books—the latter to be credited by the former for such part as was taken to provide the investment and defray the expenses of the factory, and only to be debited for the real charges attending the collections. In Midnapore a large sum was invested yearly; a fort had been built, and charges had been incurred exclusive of the collections. These in the general books being all placed to the credit of the Committee of Lands, occasioned a striking difference in the two balances. There was still another irregularity in the system of accounts hitherto adopted. The imaginary specie in which the accounts current had been kept was estimated at near 6 per cent. superior to the highest coin, the sicca rupee; instead of which the Sub-Accountant, Mr. Barwell, recommended that the accounts from henceforth be kept in Calcutta currency, for the greater facility of entering them in the books of the presidency, already rendered sufficiently intricate by the numerous adjustments occasioned by difference of exchange, which might with greater propriety have been written off in the books of the several factories. It may be mentioned that it was a standing

* From H. Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 31st December 1764.

† From H. Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1765.

‡ From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, R. Leycester, and J. Burdett, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 21st January 1765.

§ From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, R. Leycester, and J. Burdett, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 21st January 1765.

|| From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c. Council, dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1765.

¶ From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, R. Leycester, and J. Burdett, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 21st January 1765.

order* that two sets of the general books of all subordinates, that is subordinate factories, should be furnished, one to be sent home to the Company with those of the presidencies.

In February 1765† Rs. 83,989, or sicca weight Rs. 77,600, were remitted to Fort William by boat, and in the same month,‡ on two occasions, 32 bales of cloth and 104 bales respectively, the latter containing 4,082 pieces, valued at Rs. 26,987-4-6. Fifty maunds of iron, it was requested, should be sent for the use of the Midnapore Fort by the returning boat.

In April 1765§ Mr. Watts forwarded musters of the marginally-noted sortments of cloth, and in the following month he wrote|| in the following terms:—"My Lord and Gentlemen,—Your several favours of the 3rd and 9th

				A.	Rs.	As.
1	piece	nillaes, superfine	...	20	×	2 ... A at 6 0
1	"	" middling	...	20	×	2 ... A at 5 2
1	"	" ordinary	...	20	×	2 ... A at 3 8
1	"	gingham	...	20	×	2 ... A at 5 0
1	"	peniascoes	...	20	×	2 ... A at 6 6
1	"	chucklaes	...	30	×	2 ... A at 11 12

instant I have had the honour to receive, and have made the necessary advances for the investment, which I will endeavour to procure as near equal to the samples of cloth which have met with your approbation;" for he had been informed¶ that the musters of cloth from Midnapore were greatly superior in quality to those in the Company's warehouse, and they highly deserved the advance they bore on last year's prices.

It should be noted** here that Lord Clive was, in addition to his other titles, President and Governor of the Select Committee also.

In July†† 50 bales of cloth and 11 chests of treasure were transmitted to Calcutta. In August‡‡ certain regulations were established for conducting the inland trade in the articles of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. A Committee of Trade was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Sumner, Verelst, Leycester, and Gray, who were authorized to correspond with the several subordinate factories, and to take all necessary measures. Mr. Hugh Watts was to pay due regard to whatever instructions he might receive from them. All interference with the

* Copy of the 100th paragraph of the Hon'ble Company's general letter to Fort William, dated 15th February 1765, being the enclosure to a letter from Clive, William B. Sumner, J. Carnac, H. Verelst, R. Leycester, and George Gray, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 24th October 1765.

† From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 7th February 1765.

‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 22nd February 1765.

§ From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 29th April 1765.

|| From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 25th May 1765.

¶ From C. S. Playdell, Export Warehouse-keeper, to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Fort William, the 9th May 1765, being the enclosure to a letter from Clive, W. B. Sumner, C. S. Playdell, J. Johnstone, F. Sykes, J. B. Burdett, and George Gray, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 9th May 1765.

** From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Members of the Select Committee, dated Midnapore, the 27th June 1765.

†† From H. Watts to William Brightwell Sumner, Esq., &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 29th July 1765.

‡‡ From W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, R. Leycester, and George Gray, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 12th August 1765.

trade, except as contractors with the Society,* was prohibited. The Committee were ready to receive proposals for contracts in the three articles, and to take money into their treasury at interest for carrying on the trade. An advertisement was published notifying the commencement of the trade. The preference in contracting was to be given to the factors adjacent to the districts where the articles were produced. Mr. Watts was required to submit proposals for consideration, and as the season was very far advanced the settlement of contracts was to be no longer delayed.

In October 1765 chiefs and other gentlemen at subordinate factories were prohibited† from lending money to the zemindars or other servants of the public in the Nabob's dominions without the consent of the ministers, or from interfering directly or indirectly with the business of the Government. A prohibition was also made regarding lending money to the zemindars within the province of Midnapore without the consent of the Committee or of the Governor and Council. All the Company's servants, banians, and dependants, were to confine themselves strictly to the business of the collections, and their own private affairs; carefully avoiding any step that might possibly affect the Company's interest.

In November‡ 12,718 piece-goods were being provided at the Midnapore factory, the cost of which was Rs. 87,865.

In December§ the Company thought it necessary to establish that all trade to be carried on within the provinces where factories were established should be carried on by their servants at such factories, and their agents only, who should transact the business of the Company's other servants on receiving the established commission; and on any refusal to accept such commission, or any tendency to monopolize, the servants at Calcutta or other parts, should be at liberty to send their own black gomashas, who should nevertheless be accountable for their conduct to the Company's servants within whose jurisdiction they resided. All districts which were not comprehended within the jurisdiction of each subordinate were to be considered as within the jurisdiction of the Board of Calcutta.

With a view to monopolize the trade of the country, or perhaps to prevent any misunderstanding that might possibly arise with the Government of the country, it had been ordered in July 1764|| that all Europeans, Portuguese, and Armenians employed as agents in the country by the Company's servants, or other merchants living under

* The constitution of this Society will best be learnt from the following quotation :—" You have been advised by the President and Council of our appointment to form a committee for managing on behalf of the public Society the scheme for carrying on in future the inland trade in the articles of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco." (To Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, from W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, dated Fort William, the 12th August 1765.

† From Clive, W. B. Sumner, John Carnac, and H. Verelst, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 10th October 1765.

‡ From H. Watts to the Right Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 28th November 1765.

§ Extract from the Company's separate letter, dated the 24th of December 1765, being the enclosure to a letter from William Aldersey, Secretary, to John Graham Esq., dated Fort William, the 16th July 1766.

|| A Resolution of the Hon'ble the President and Council, dated Fort William, the 21st July 1764, being an enclosure to a letter from J. Graham to Anselm Beaumont, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated 21st July 1764.

the Company's protection, should be recalled, and that they should leave the places of their respective residences in such time as to arrive at Calcutta by the 31st December 1764. In the May following* this order was repeated, and the Select Committee directed that all free merchants and other Europeans who resided up the country under protection of the English name should be recalled. One month's time was allowed them, after which they were to be conveyed in security to Calcutta. Accordingly a Mr. George Leighlar, residing in Birkul, was required to proceed within the time assigned to Calcutta.† Finally in July 1765‡ the protection to free merchants and others was withdrawn altogether from the 21st October 1765.

Immediately before the close of the year 1765, Mr. Graham apprised his Lordship and the gentlemen of the Council§ that under an escort of a havildar and twelve sepoys seventeen chests of treasure, containing 1,00,000 sicca rupees and 147 bales of piece-goods, valued at 35,607-14 Arcot rupees, had been sent to Gangakhali for dispatch to Calcutta. In February 1766|| Rs. 88,000 were dispatched to Calcutta. In March,¶ under the escort of a naik and six sepoys, 89 bales of piece-goods were sent. In the same month** Rs. 94,500 were remitted to Calcutta.

In June†† Mr. Graham apprised the Council that Rs. 50,000 in treasure and Rs. 14,108-11-9 in piece-goods had been transmitted to Calcutta. In July‡‡ C. Rs. 24,880 were remitted to Calcutta by boat from Ghâtâl.

In August§§ Rs. 1,00,000 and nineteen bales of piece-goods were sent to Calcutta to be laden in the Company's two matwas at Partabpur. It appears that Rs. 6,00,000 had been remitted in the year (which was reckoned according to the Orissa style), exclusive of the advances made for the investment and all the expenses of the Factory (Civil and Military). It further appears that the want of a magazine was felt in the Fort of Midnapore for the keeping of stores, which were lodged in an old tomb, which was said not to be proof against rocket, and was, moreover, by overtopping the walls of the fort, exposed to every attempt of an enemy.

There is subjoined in the Appendix||| the copy of an abstract of annual expenses at the Midnapore Factory.

* From Clive, William B. Sumner, and F. Sykes, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 15th May 1765.

† From H. Watts to Mr. Gen. Leighlar in Birkul, dated Midnapore the 25th May 1765.

‡ A Resolution of the Select Committee, dated Fort William, the 26th July 1765, being the enclosure to a letter from Alexander Campbell, Secretary S. C., to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 25th July 1766.

§ From John Graham to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 29th December 1765.

|| From John Graham to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 8th February 1766.

¶ From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 5th March 1766.

** From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 16th March 1766.

†† From the Resident to W. B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, the 15th June 1766.

‡‡ From the Resident to W. B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 25th July 1766.

§§ From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 31st August 1766.

||| Vide Appendix No. 1.

In March 1766 it was expressly ordered* that the duty on goods in the Jellasure province should be collected as usual, and that no exception might be made: the same was to be levied on the goods of the Company as on all other persons.

Mr. Graham was ordered† in this year to observe it as a rule in future from October to March to send up the monthly statements of his factory to be transmitted to Europe by the ships that might be dispatched during that time. It was also ordered‡ that the monthly accounts of the subordinate factories should be constantly dispatched to Calcutta by the 15th of the succeeding month at furthest: all persons were to draw for their pay and allowances as they became due, that they might regularly appear in the month they properly belonged to. This was to be observed as a standing rule with respect to all other charges whatever. It was further ruled§ that the charge of Midnapore Fort and buildings should be brought on the new books. The transfers for the advances made from one set of books to the other might be entered under the head of revenue books and factory books. The revenue books should be entirely confined to an account of the rents received and the charges attending them. The military disbursements were to be made out of the factory books, and to appear as a charge on the presidency. They were for the month of April at Midnapore C. Rs. 7,304-13-6||

¶ In October of the year A. Rs. 40,000 were advanced for increasing the provision of some of the articles of Mr. Graham's investment. A magazine was to be built at Midnapore on the plan submitted by Mr. Graham, and an estimate of the expense was required.

Mr. Graham had previously been informed** that he might take up what sums he might want for carrying on his own business, and grant bills for the amount on his attorneys in Calcutta. Agreeably to the permission accorded, Mr. Graham took currency Rs. 35,100 in the month of May to carry on his private business out of the cash of the Committee of Trade.††

In this year‡‡ the following injunction was laid down:—"Great care should be taken that our servants at the subordinates, and our gomastahs at the aurrungs, do not impede European nations in their investment. The Company's advantages in the revenues are now become

* From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th March 1766.

† From H. Verelst, H. Watts, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, and Thomas Kelsall, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 31st March 1766.

‡ From H. Verelst, R. Marriott, H. Watts, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, and Thomas Kelsall, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 14th April 1766.

§ From William B. Sumner, H. Watts, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 2nd June 1766.

|| From the Resident to W. B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Gentlemen of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 10th May 1766.

¶ From Olive, John Carnac, H. Verelst, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 20th October 1766.

** From W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, R. Marriott, and H. Watts, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 28th May 1766.

†† From the Resident to W. B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Member of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 9th June 1766.

‡‡ Extract from the Hon'ble Company's general letter to Bengal, dated 17th May 1766, paragraph 17th, being an enclosure to a letter from H. Verelst, John Carnac, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 18th December 1766.

so blended with the general welfare of the country, that it is our interest as well as our duty to promote as much as possible the bringing of money from all quarters into the country; for which reason, as well as to prevent disputes with their Sovereigns in Europe, we recommend it to you in general to be very circumspect in your behaviour to them, and in no way to intrude on their privileges, and particularly do not obstruct the Dutch in their opium trade, which is an object of such importance to them."

At* the same time it was ordered that none of the Company's servants, civil or military, were to demand, directly or indirectly, or accept or receive, from any person or persons whatsoever, for the loan of any sum or sums of money, real or nominal, in Bengal or in any other part or province of India (excepting only such moneys as they might from time to time lend on respondentia), any kind of premium, gratuity, or advantage whatsoever over and above 12 per cent. per annum interest, on pain of suspension from the Company's service. Certain orders of the Select Committee that had issued in October 1765 were repeated, and it was resolved† that "no civil or military servants of the Company, their banians or dependants, &c., should after that date lend money upon lease, mortgage, or otherwise to the zemindars and other officers of the Government without the knowledge and consent of Mahomed Reza Cawn and the ministers." It was understood that this order had been disregarded to the great prejudice of the revenue and injury to the Company. No British subject, in or out of the Company's service, or their dependents, should lend money, unless upon respondentia, at a higher rate of interest than 12 per cent. per annum; and such sums of money as might have been lent at a higher interest should be recalled on the 11th April 1767, on pain of immediate dismissal and forfeiture of the Company's protection.

It‡ had previously been ordered in April of the year that all Europeans in Bengal not in the Company's service should send in to the Secretary to the Council their names, dates of arrival, places of abode, and authority for residing in India.

Apparently§ in this year some of the military gentlemen stationed at Midnapore with Mr. Graham had tendered their commissions, that is, resigned the service.

It|| is written that in January 1767 seventeen chests of treasure and one hundred and fourteen bales of piece-goods were dispatched from Midnapore to be forwarded from Gangakhali upon the Company's matwas. The¶ bales were packed in readiness for dispatch to Europe agreeably to

* Extract from the Hon'ble Company's general letter to Bengal, dated 17th May 1766, paragraph 17, being an enclosure to a letter from H. Verelst, John Carnac, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thos. Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 18th December 1766.

† From Clive, H. Verelst, and Fras. Sykes, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 31st December 1766.

‡ From William Aldersey, Secretary, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 7th April 1766.

§ From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 23th May 1766.

|| From J. Graham to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1767.

¶ From J. Graham to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1767 (but another letter).

the late directions of the Export Warehouse-keeper. The dispatch fell considerably short of what had been expected on account of Mr. Graham's having been obliged to return the greatest part of the sannoes upon the merchants' hands, into which they had put conjee contrary to the most express and repeated orders. The fact of their being ready packed was in consequence of the many and frequent complaints from Calcutta, and also from England, of the great inconvenience that arose from making the bales either larger or smaller than had hitherto been the custom.* Mr. Vansittart had inquired how many pieces of the different kinds of cloth were to be packed in one bale. The sizes were apparently for nillaes, gingham, peniascoes, 20 by 2; for sannoes, 25 by 2; teapoys, 28 by 1½; for charconnaes, 35 by 1¾; for seersuckers and shalbafts, 40 by 2; for chucklaes intended for the African trade, 50 by 2. He explained that the diversity in the number of pieces in one bale was caused by the custom which had always been observed of packing up the different sorts in different bales.† Besides, the smallness of the Midnapore bales in comparison with those of other factories was owing to the necessity the Resident was under the greatest part of the year of transporting them by bullocks to Gangakhali, the Kasai river being navigable only in the height of the rains. However‡, the Resident was informed that the Company disapproved not only of small bales, but those which consisted of different letters, that is of cloths ordered in different letters. As a rule, bales were in future not to contain less than 100 pieces; some might even contain so many as 120 pieces.

In§ this year (1767) also the Company complained that the cargoes of the French and Dutch ships were much more valuable than theirs, owing to the larger proportion of fine goods that they received. The Company said that they had great reason to believe that some of their servants had been concerned in providing cargoes for the French and Dutch ships. A strict inquiry was to be made to discover who had been guilty of so great a breach of trust, and those who had acted so unfaithful and injurious a part to their employers were immediately to be dismissed the service and sent home—a reasonable time being allowed them for settling their private concerns, which time was not to exceed twelve months.

There was an attempt made at this time to open out new sources of trade and profit to the Company. “Raw silk,” the Resident said,|| “being an article of which our honourable masters, I imagine, would wish to be supplied with as large a quantity as possible, I am endeavouring to promote the cultivation of it to the utmost of my power in these provinces by offering great encouragement to whoever will undertake

* From the Resident to John Cartier, Esq., Export Warehouse-keeper, dated Midnapore, the 3rd July 1767.

† From the Resident to John Cartier, Esq., Export Warehouse-keeper, dated Midnapore, the 14th August 1767.

‡ From W. Cartier to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 9th July 1767.

§ Extract from the Company's general letter per Admiral Watson, dated the 20th November 1767, being the enclosure to a letter from H. Verelst, R. Smith, J. Alexander, Claud Russell, Wm. Aldersey, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. George Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 1st June 1768.

|| From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, No. 39, dated Midnapore, the 9th February 1768.

it; and I will hereafter inform you what success I am likely to meet with." It appears* he wished to grant 100 beeghas of waste land in the Midnapore pergunnah as a talook to any one who would engage to cultivate half of it with mulberry trees for the produce of raw silk, the other half to remain at the ryots' disposal for the cultivation of sugarcane, tobacco, &c., for their own convenience; and he would have to pay to the zemindar for the first year, Rs. 10 (sicca), the second 30, third 45, and the fourth and ever afterwards 100, which last was rather less than a common renter would have to pay for the same quantity of land according to its usual value in this part of the province. The cultivators of raw silk would be encouraged by its being thus made the means of obtaining for people a gift of lands which they would otherwise be obliged to purchase or hold upon less advantageous terms; the zemindars would receive rent for lands which yielded them no manner of profit; and at the same time their unwillingness to be deprived of any part of their hereditary estates would induce them to exert their utmost endeavours that their lands might not remain uncultivated, and so be liable to be taken from them. It was hoped that the zemindars themselves, in order to save their lands, would enter into engagements for the cultivation of raw silk. Offers for talooks were made in Calcutta. Subsequently, when asked to supply further information, the Resident said† that the customary rate in parts of the Midnapore pergunnah for silk-producing land was Rs. 2-3, and for the ryots' houses, and for sugarcane, tobacco, Re. 1-2 per beegha. In order to induce the ryots to undertake a business which they had not been used to, and which required a good deal of labour and attendance, the talookdars would be obliged to abate somewhat of the customary rent, and therefore the former rate was calculated at Rs. 2 per beegha, and the latter at Re. 1. At these rates the yearly amount of rent would be Rs. 150, and this the Resident caused to be divided, two-thirds for the profit of the zemindar, free from risks and expenses, and one third for the use of the talookdars. He said‡ "If the Calcutta people who were desirous of talooks could bring any ryots with them, it would be so much the better, as these provinces would furnish labour and sustenance to many more inhabitants than they at present contain." And finally he wrote§:—"What with the raw silk which is already produced in the Midnapore district, and the increase which may be expected, the quantity will, I hope, in a short time be large enough to become an object worthy of our attention for the benefit of the Hon'ble Company in that valuable branch of their investment. With this expectation I wish much that some families of winders would be induced to settle at Midnapore." In furtherance of his plans the Resident hoped|| to be able to supply himself with winders from Kashijora, Kutubpur, and Narajol, who, though they

* From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, No. 32, dated Midnapore, the 22nd March 1768.

† From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, No. 33, dated Midnapore, the 1st April 1768.

‡ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, No. 33, dated Midnapore, the 1st April 1768.

§ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 23rd June 1768.

|| From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 19th July 1768.

had not the reputation of Calcutta or Burdwan winders, would prove competent it was thought. Instead of talooks it was proposed to grant to one Gokul Ghosal and others ijaras for ten or twelve, or even a longer term of years. Talooks were supposed to infringe on the zemindar's hereditary rights.

In April of the year 1769* it was said that the price of tusser had advanced Rs. 75 per cent. on what it had been two years before. Gingham at Rs. 3-4 and peniascoes at Rs. 4-8 used to be made of the tusser which the Government wished to buy at Rs. 3 and Rs. 4. It was explained that the weavers would deliver the cloth very bad and extremely thin if they were to get only the lower price. In the same month complaints† were made that the fabric of the cloth manufactured in Midnapore was bad: threats, promises, and large deductions from the prices charged by the merchants, when the goods were much inferior to the musters, alike proved useless in effecting an improvement. Mr. Vansittart proposed to get as many weavers as possible to settle in the village of Midnapore itself to work under his immediate supervision. A few had come. He proposed to take particular care of them, and he thought many more might be induced to come. He hoped then to be able to effect an improvement both in the brightness of the colours and the goodness of the cloth. The intention to draw the weavers and other manufacturers employed on the investment of Midnapore, and to give every encouragement for this purpose, was approved highly.‡ But it is likely that it was owing to this circumstance that general complaints§ of numbers of weavers having deserted the Kirpai district and fled to Midnapore were made; balances were said to be due from them, they were miserably poor in appearance, and nothing could be collected from them except by means of further advances. About four or five hundred had fled from different parts.

Notwithstanding the impulse that it was intended should be given to the business of the Company's investment, the Resident was directed|| to confine himself strictly to the Company's orders in the provision of the ensuing year's investment, without attempting any increase. The fabric was to be improved rather than the quantity of the goods increased. At the same time the Company remarked¶:—"It is very material to our interest that as large a sum be invested as possible, and in order to effect this we direct that the weavers should by all proper means be encouraged.

"We would not have such goods as may in future prove inferior to musters totally rejected, but retained for the use of the Company at their proportionable value. These must not be blended with your choice sortments, but packed separately and invoiced to us as Ferrit

* From the Resident to the Hon'ble H. Verelst, dated Midnapore, the 6th April 1769.

† From the Resident to the Hon'ble H. Verelst, President and Governor, &c., Council dated Midnapore, the 14th April 1769.

‡ From John Cartier, James Alexander, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 26th April 1769.

§ From the Resident to John Cartier, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 16th December 1769.

|| From John Cartier, James Alexander, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 10th April 1769.

¶ Extracts from the Hon'ble Company's general letter, under date the 11th November 1768, paragraph 47, being the enclosure to a letter from John Cartier, C. Russell, J. Alexander, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 1st June 1769.

goods ; still remembering to give every encouragement and advantage to those manufacturers that will exert themselves most, and keep the quality of their goods the nearest to your old musters, and discourage every attempt in others who designedly debase their manufactures by retaining them on less advantageous terms to the weavers or contractors.”

In October 1769,* as the Hon'ble Company was very solicitous that every possible encouragement should be given to the cultivation of the mulberry plant, a deduction in the rents of the lands that were planted with this shrub was suggested, as a bounty for raising it, which would make it a more profitable culture than that of any other article. At the same time the investment for the ensuing year was curtailed,† and the amount to be provided at the Factory limited to Rs. 1,00,000 ; the goods were to consist of those most in demand in Europe.

In March 1770 the Directors said‡ :—“ As the matter of investment is of the greatest importance to our interest, because on that alone depends our prosperity and existence, we have bestowed very great attention to the goods which answer best at this market. You will find our observations at large in the list of investment, and we particularly recommend to you to encourage the growth of that silk, and the manufacture of those goods, which appear on the list of investment to be most in demand at this market.

“ Notwithstanding we have repeatedly complained of great defects in providing and assorting your investment of piece-goods, yet as those complaints still subsist, whereby our sales here are greatly prejudiced, we have thought it expedient, in order to prevent them in future, to appoint Mr. Henry Guinaud, who is perfectly acquainted with the sortments proper for the European markets, to be Superintendent of Piece-goods under your presidency at the salary of four hundred pounds a year to commence upon his arrival ; also twenty pounds per calendar month for subsistence instead of diet money ; and he is to have all his travelling charges defrayed in going from one place to another in India. We have paid the expense of his passage out, and he is also to be allowed the expense of his voyage home, as stipulated in his agreement with the Company, of which we send a copy ; and it is our positive order that he be neither permitted to trade for himself, nor to procure goods of any kind, either directly or indirectly, for any other persons whatever ; and we shall severely resent the least disobedience of this order.

“ The principal defects which are pointed out, and which Mr. Guinaud has undertaken to rectify, are the great mixture of sorts in the same bale ; the want of variety and novelty in all flowered, striped, and checked muslins, also in all coloured prohibited goods ; the neglect of providing sundry species of muslins and other goods imported

* Extract from the Hon'ble Company's general letter, under date the 17th March 1769, being the enclosure to a letter from James Alexander, Collector-General, to Geo. Vansittart, dated Calcutta, the 20th October 1769.

† From John Cartier, Claud Russell, Charles Floyer, and H. Hare, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 8th December 1769.

‡ Extracts from the general letter from Europe *per* Mansfield, dated 23rd March 1770, being the enclosure to a letter from John Cartier, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, dated Fort William, the 31st October 1770.

by foreign companies with great profit; the small investment of superfine muslins much in demand for foreign and home trade; and the inferior quality of sundry sorts of muslins annually degenerating so much as not to answer their denomination. You must, therefore, further our views in this important branch of our commerce by employing Mr. Guinaud in such manner as to answer the ends of his appointment, either by his overlooking and sorting the bales as they are received into the export warehouse at Calcutta, or by his taking the circuit of the aurrungs and instructing the persons there in what manner the goods should be manufactured and sorted for their exportation to Europe.

"We have observed in our investment this year the great inattention of the sorters at many places in suffering goods to be packed of different qualities and species in the same bale, as also others rotten or damaged in the middle of the piece. This is so great a neglect of their duty that we order that the native in whose immediate department the goods have been found faulty be directly dismissed our service, and also that the Chief Warehouse-keeper of that department be reprimanded, as by this inattention it has already been a great charge to us by the buyers examining every piece in many bales and returning those which they find to be damaged; and if this is not remedied in future, it will give such discredit to the goods that the buyers will open all the bales to examine every piece, which will amount to an immense sum in labour, to prevent which in future we direct that every piece be examined over a roller before it is packed. The species of goods and places they have been received from are as follows, viz. goods damaged and in holes—

Baftacs	BEF	} Islamabad.
	...	...	EBÆ
Emmerties	FV—RE	} Patna.
	...	...	FE—VRE
	...	...	NE—VRE
	...	...	NFE—VRE
Lac cowries...	LAC	}
Mammodies	...	...	M—AM
Gurrahs	GUR	Soonamokie Aurrung.

Goods mixed.

Cossaes	...	...	BCOSM	Maldah Aurrung.
Mulmuls	...	...	MULRAD	Kirpai Aurrung.
	...	...	BMUL	} Santipore.
	...	...	MULS	
Seerbettees	...	...	SEERBE	} Dacca.
	...	...	MSFEERBE	
	...	...	FSEERBE	

"And we further direct that at every subordinate factory, district, or other place whatever, where Putney may be provided for our investment, accounts be duly kept of whatsoever species of silk produced at such subordinate factory or district, distinguishing particularly what quantity may be fit for our investment as fine silk, and also of Ferrit which may be found proper to send hither; and of such

refuse silk as must of necessity be rejected ; ascertaining thereby as near as may be the whole produce of the country, and that such accounts be regularly entered on your consultations at the close of every bund* for our information. It is also our pleasure that you take the greatest care to prevent those who may have the inspection of the Putney from rejecting any under the name of refuse Putney which shall not be absolutely unfit to be sent to Europe under the denomination of Ferrit silk ; and if you should at any time discover that any fraud or collusion whatever be practised by those who may have the care of this business, whereby Ferrit silk may be deemed unfit for the European market when it actually is not so, we direct that you forthwith dismiss from our service every person, of whatever rank or station, who may be found unfaithful in a matter which we deem of great consequence, and do therefore so particularly charge you effectually to carry into execution.

“ You are to take care at the commencement of every bund, or oftener, that at all your subordinates or factories, when advances are made to pykars, each pykar be called before the Chief of the Subordinate and Council, or the Resident, and two others at least of our servants next in authority, if so many reside at such factory, where any advances may be issued to the said pykars, and that to each of the pykars separately a copy be delivered of their outstanding balances, if any such there be, with a particular account of the advance last made to them, and they are to be examined whether they have actually received the amount for which they are debited, and care must also be taken that the answers of each pykar respectively thereto be entered at large and transmitted to you, which must also be entered on your consultations immediately for our information. This mode of proceeding is on no account to be neglected or discontinued, and by which means those frauds and oppressions formerly practised by the sircar paymasters or their banians in detaining part of the advances in their own hands, and obtaining from the pykars receipts for the whole, will, we hope, be prevented in future.

“ The complaints of the chassars against the pykars should be very carefully attended to ; every prudent means should be used to restore harmony between those who are so immediately and mutually concerned in the provision of our investment. If the chassars are oppressed, relief should be administered ; yet in such manner, if possible, as not to lessen the influence of our pykars with those persons on whom the investment principally depends. Such of the pykars who do not honestly pay the chassars, but leave a balance due at the close of the bund to those who rear the worms or wind the silk, deserve severe reprehension for misusing our advances made to them, and are by no means worthy your confidence in future. You will by diligent inquiry soon inform yourselves if this be the case, and take such measures thereupon as may effectually prevent hindrance being given to our investment by the mismanagement of the Company's pykars.

* A bund is the season when the silkworm dies and yields its produce to the cultivator.

“ We do not approve that part of your orders to subordinates which enjoins implicit obedience to be paid by the Residents at our several factories to the orders of Y^e Chief of a subordinate. It is our pleasure that all orders that require implicit obedience be issued, not by the *Chief singly*, but by the Chief and Council; and that all orders given, answers received, and all other proceedings whatever, relative to our investments, be not communicated by the Chief to the Council, but by the *Chief and Council* do issue such orders (*sic*); and that all remonstrances and answers thereto be addressed, not to the *Chief alone*, but to the Chief and Council of such subordinates respectively from whom the orders may have been issued; or, in extraordinary cases, to the Governor and Council of Calcutta: and we direct that immediately on receipt hereof you transmit a copy of this our order to every subordinate and factory within your presidency, and that it may be an invariable rule to be observed in future by all our servants at every such subordinate and factory.”

Returning to a subject already partly discussed, it may be stated that in February 1768 attention was requested to former orders of July 1765. Mr. Vansittart, the Resident, was required* to apprehend and send to the presidency without delay all such free merchants and others as he might find trading within his district, should it appear that they had no permission granted for that purpose by the President or the Select Committee. Again in May 1768 fresh notice† in the following terms was given:—

“ Notice is hereby given that after the expiration of two months from the 27th April no gomashas employed by the English shall be permitted to remain in any part out of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and after that period, that no Company’s servant, free merchant, or other European residing under the Company’s protection, shall be suffered to carry on any inland trade, directly or indirectly, beyond those limits, under penalty, if a Company’s servant, of being immediately dismissed the service, if a free merchant or other European, of forfeiting the Company’s protection. And that if any Europeans whatsoever shall attempt to transport any merchandise beyond the provinces, all such merchandise shall be seized and confiscated, and the gomashas having charge of such contraband trade shall be punished with the utmost severity.

“ All Armenians, Portuguese, or the descendants of Armenians and Portuguese, living under the Company’s protection, are included in the above restrictions; it being intended that none but the natives of the country (Mussulman and Hindoos) shall in future enjoy this privilege.” For it was intended by the Hon’ble Company’s general letter of the 20th November 1767‡ that the orders of the 19th February and 17th May 1766 should be confirmed, which were “ that no Company’s servants, free merchants, or any Europeans, shall in any mode or shape

* From H. Verelst, John Cartier, F. Sykes, Richard Becher, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 16th February 1768.

† Copy of a publication made at Fort William, the 18th May 1768, being the enclosure to a letter from H. Verelst, Richard Smith, J. Alexander, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 15th May 1768.

‡ Extracts from the Hon’ble Company’s general letter per Admiral Watson, under date 20th November 1767, being the enclosure to a letter from H. Verelst, John Cartier, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 1st September 1768.

whatsoever, either by themselves or agents, directly or indirectly, trade in, or be concerned in carrying on an inland trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, or any other articles produced or consumed in the country." Henceforth the Company's servants and Europeans residing under the Company's protection were confined within the ancient limits of export and import. Betel-nut and tobacco were not among the articles coming under the head of export.

Finally, on the 12th December 1770, a notice from Fort William was promulgated*:—"That the Hon'ble the East India Company have been pleased to lay open the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco throughout these provinces, and that all persons, whether Europeans or others, are hereby permitted to engage in it subject to the regulations already in force, and to such others as may be hereafter made by the Hon'ble the Members of Administration."

In order to adjust the accounts of the subordinate factories with those of the presidency more accurately than the method that had been hitherto adopted of keeping the books allowed, the Government thought proper to make the following regulation:—"Your general books are to be kept in current rupees, and you are to send to the presidency a copy of your journal every month as soon as entered in your books.

"But as it may be necessary to keep some of your accounts in the species of money in which you transact your business with the natives, probably the addition of an inward column will be requisite, and we have sent you the form of an account for your guidance." And later directions† said that "every subordinate should henceforward send monthly two statements to the presidency, one of them to contain their quick stock, and the other to contain the amount of the dead stock, together with such other articles of debts and charges not inserted in their statement of quick stock * * * * * The appurtenances of forts, buildings, and works, as likewise ordnance or military stores issued for service, to be included in the statement of dead stock."

The Resident in 1767 was not above lending money to impecunious zemindars. The matter will best be explained in Mr. Graham's own words‡:—"I did myself indeed lend some money to assist the zemindars last year at the season of their cultivation, but I did not venture upon this transaction until I had first obtained the sanction of your Committee through the channel of Mr. Verelst; nor was the rate of interest stipulated by that gentleman ever exceeded by me. The assistance to the zemindars I must still think essentially necessary to help them in carrying on the cultivation of their lands and prevent their being obliged to dispose of their preceding crop (which at that time of the year would sell very low and thereby produce deficiencies in their rents), and it may therefore not be an improper object of your Lordship's, &c., attention, should it not suit with private persons to lend

* The enclosure to a letter from John Cartier, Claud Russell, Charles Floyer, and H. Hare, to Edward Baber, Esq., dated Fort William, the 20th December 1770.

† To the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq., Governor and President, &c., Council of Fort William, from L. Darell, Sub-Accountant, being the enclosure to a letter from John Cartier, Claud Russell, John Reed, Thomas Lane, and Richard Barwell, to Mr. Geo. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 2nd August 1770.

‡ From Mr. Graham to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President, &c., Members of the Select Committee of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 11th January 1767.

them money on the terms you have now prescribed. to establish some other method of furnishing them with a sufficient supply for the salutary purpose which I mention."

The Company had ordered* 12,500 pieces of cloth to be provided in Midnapore during the season of 1771, of which quantity 9,622 pieces had already before the month of March been dispatched (a great part of the dispatch, however, being said to belong to the balances of former years). There were ready to be dispatched about 5,000 pieces more, and Mr. Baber hoped to send 1,000 additional in a very short time.

In 1771 a system was evolved which would, it was hoped, result in the factory accounts being better kept, and the information that they were meant to supply being more promptly attainable. The extract itself from the general letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 10th April 1771, will best exemplify the system :—"In our letter of March 1769 we observed that you had for some time neglected to send us the books of your general store-keeper. We likewise observe, but from what cause we are at a loss to determine, that you never transmitted to us the books of your export warehouse-keeper. This omission you must in future rectify; and indeed that we may be enabled to enter fully into every investigation that may be required, we must be furnished with every book referred to in the general books of your presidency.

"The same reasons will operate with regard to the general books of your subordinates, which should be likewise accompanied with their respective subsidiaries.

"In our letter of 23rd March 1770 we directed you to examine several balances standing on your general books, and to transmit to us your sentiments thereon, with such information as may enable us to give our final instructions for clearing your books of such useless heads as tend to perplex the state of your accounts. In the meanwhile we shall remark that your present method of entering the debtor balances at the end of your journal, without any regular disposition, is attended with considerable inconvenience; for the several heads of dead stock, charges remaining on balance, debts, accounts unadjusted, being indiscriminately blended together, are not separated without difficulty.

"You are therefore in future to make the entries in such a manner as may exhibit in a collective view such balances as are of a similar nature, in order to which you are to arrange them in the following manner, under distinct titles :—

"1.—Dead Stock.

"Under this will be entered such articles as are to be considered as forming part of your dead stock, each having a head in the ledger, viz. —

New Fort.	Calcutta town and buildings.
Dock.	Charges building saltpetre godown.
Dock head slip.	Charges building new cutcherry.
Cradle for careening sloops.	Charges burying ground.
Buoys in the river.	Bankipore cantonments.
Old factory and buildings.	Dead stock.

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 5th March 1771.

“ 2.—*Factories and Settlements.*

“ Under this will follow the balances due from the several factories.

“ 3.—*Expeditions.*

“ To include all undertakings to make new settlements or expenses in war, for which the returns or reimbursements are dubious, as—
Expedition against the Mughls.
Expedition to Nepaul.

“ 4.—*Ships and Vessels.*

“ Here follow the particulars of sloops, &c.

“ To these may be added the head of budgerows and boats.

“ 5.—*Money and Good Debts.*

“ Under this title may be comprised :—

Cash.	French Company.
Treasury.	Commission unappropriated.
Charges, French prisoners.	Mint.
Advances to the duffadars.	Storekeeper-General.
Advances to contractors for building.	Military Storekeeper.
New works.	Master Attendant.
King of Pegu.	Buxey.
Nabob Nazim O'Dowla.	Import Warehouse-Keeper.
Account of monthly payments.	Export Warehouse-Keeper.

“ 6.—*Stores.*

Timber and plank.	Military stores.
Stores for exportation	Materials and necessaries for building.
Petty stores.	Cowries.
General stores.	

“ 7.—*Goods in the import warehouse.*

“ 8.—*Goods in the export warehouse.*

“ Under these titles may be entered the separate heads of goods in the two warehouses.

“ 9.—*At the Aurrungs to follow as usual.*

“ 10.—*Revenues.*

Burdwan province.	Midnapore province.
Chittagong province.	Collector-General.

“ 11.—*Old Debts.*

Goods from Europe per ship <i>Stritham</i> .	Account Commissary,
Ditto ditto per ship <i>Lynn</i> .	Chunam contract.
Old balance account the works.	Dadney due from the merchants.
Consignment to Batavia.	Old outstanding debts.
Dutch East India Company.	Desperate debts.

“ 12.—*Unadjusted Accounts.*

“ Under this may be inserted all such accounts as are not to be considered as debts, but which for various reasons are kept open :—

Charges lawsuits.	Restitution to natives.
Company's steward.	Ditto to Armenians.
Estimate of losses, 1756.	Portuguese inhabitants.
Army and Navy.	Ship <i>Tetuenbeen</i> .
European sufferers.	Deposit of ditto.

“ With respect to the warehouse stocks, the particulars of which have hitherto been brought on your general books, we think such articles should be discontinued, and the summary of the import and export goods only appear; but as we have never yet received the books of your export warehouse-keeper, we shall at present defer giving any orders relative to this matter.

“ By the *Duke of Grafton* we received the account current of Major Kilpatrick’s estate, but are sorry to observe that no light has been thrown thereby upon this transaction. In our letter of 16th March 1768 we directed you to send us this account, authenticated under the seal of the Mayor’s court; in the meantime, although no certain judgment can be formed of the nature of this debt, yet as it undoubtedly ought not to stand under the present denomination, we direct that the sum of C. Rs. 11,674-4-6, appearing due from this estate, be wrote off from the head of account deposits to old outstanding debts, and remain till further orders.”

On the 17th April 1771* the following notice was promulgated from Fort William :— “ Notice is hereby given that the Hon’ble the President and Council of Fort William have this day been pleased to lay open the trade between these provinces and the neighbouring powers, and do hereby grant full permission to all persons to transport their goods and merchandise beyond the Carmanassa, but no dustucks can be granted for exempting goods from the payment of duties after they have passed the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. By order of the Hon’ble the President and Council.”

The following sentences, written by the Resident,† will throw some light on the extent of the Company’s commercial transactions in 1771 :— “ With regard to my abilities to comply with this year’s list, I am to inform you, gentlemen, that it does not amount to Rs. 40,000. The collections of these provinces are 14 lakhs, and I make the advances out of the treasury here. You are pleased to require to know of me the supplies of money I shall have occasion for to carry on the several investments to their utmost extent. I know of no investment but one at this factory, and the amount of that, as I have before said, is not quite Rs. 40,000. So that if I am permitted to make the advances as usual, I shall want no supplies than from the treasury here. But indeed, gentlemen, I have already made advances for this year’s investment agreeably to the orders I received from you in October last, and any impediment I may be likely to meet with I shall inform you of in conformity to your commands for this purpose.”

The system on which the Company’s investment was‡ provided will be rendered additionally clear from the following letter :— “ In compliance with the orders of the Hon’ble the Court of Directors, we have determined in contracting on the terms of *dadney* with the

* Notice of the Hon’ble the President and Council of Fort William, the 17th April 1771, being an enclosure to a letter from John Cartier, W. Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, C. Floyer, and John Reed, to Mr. Edward Baber, dated Fort William, the 17th April 1771.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon’ble the President and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, dated Midnapore, the 1st May 1771.

‡ From John Cartier, S. Middleton, W. Aldersey, and P. M. Dacres, to Mr. Edward Baber, dated Fort William, the 18th December 1771.

native and Armenian merchants for the Company's investment which is to be provided the ensuing season.

" We therefore direct that you do immediately issue advertisement and otherwise inform all the merchants at your factory to the following purport :—

" That the Hon'ble the Company will provide their investment for the ensuing season by contracts with merchants on the terms of *dadney* both for piece-goods, silk, and silk piece-goods, and that the musters of each assortment are to be seen at the Company's warehouse in the Old Fort in Calcutta, at Cossimbazar, Patna, Dacca, Chittagong, Luckipore, Midnapore, Burdwan, or Maldah.

" That all merchants who propose to contract must give the Governor and Council sufficient and approved security for the full and due performance of their contracts, to which a penalty is to be annexed in case of non-performance.

" That they are to engage that they will not provide goods for any other person of the same sorts and species as they contract for with the Company.

" That every merchant is to mention in his proposals the quantity he chooses to contract for, and the times and proportions of the quantity of *dadney* which he may require.

" That separate proposals are to be delivered in for the following goods :—

" Cossimbazar silk and silk piece-goods, including Bauleah, Rungpore and Coomercolly ;	Dacca piece-goods ; Chittagong and Luckipore piece-goods ;
Radnagore silk ;	Maldah piece-goods ;
Patna piece-goods ;	Midnapore piece-goods ;
Calcutta aurrungs piece-goods :	

and no merchant will be allowed to contract for more than one of these investments.

" That all goods so contracted for are to be delivered in at Fort William and at the different factories on or before the 20th of January 1773.

" That the monthly delivery of the cloth, and of every species of goods, must be settled by a regular *kistbundee*.

" That the merchants will be supplied with *dustucks*, and will have every reasonable protection and assistance from Government.

" That their proposals are to be sealed up and delivered in at the following periods :—those for Cossimbazar, Midnapore, Burdwan, and the Calcutta aurrungs, on the 5th ; Maldah, the 10th ; Dacca, the 12th ; Patna, Chittagong, and Luckipore, the 20th of January 1772.

" As it is contrary to our design that offers for these contracts should be engrossed by a single person, or even confined to a few, but as we wish that the plan should be as diffusive as possible, we desire that you will endeavour to get as many responsible merchants as you can to deliver in proposals.

" You will not fail to send down the proposals to the Committee of Commerce directly and immediately on the expiration of those periods mentioned in the advertisement, with your remarks and opinion on them, and on the credit and responsibility of each merchant who delivers in proposals."

In Midnapore the proposers and their sureties, at least in the year 1772, were required* to deliver in an account of their property to the amount of the sum for which they offered to contract and to be security respectively, but they declined to do so. There was not more than one amongst the proposers who, whether in his capacity of merchant or security, was, in the Resident's opinion, able to perform his engagements. There was scarcely a man in the provinces, it was said, who could command Rs. 25,000.

It would not be amiss here to describe the system, somewhat modified, which obtained a year or two later. The Resident in the first place used to be apprised by the Controller of Investments in Calcutta (Mr. Aldersey in 1774) of the amount that was to be laid out in his district, also of the different articles of which the investment was to consist, and the instalments in which it was, if possible, to be provided, in order to enable it to be conveyed to England by particular ships. The Resident was at liberty to draw the amount from the treasury by certain instalments, and to expend it in advances to weavers, who contracted to deliver by a certain time a specified number of cloths of a particular pattern and quality. It was more than once recommended† by the Resident that the first advances of a season should be made to the weavers at or a little before the delivery of the last instalment of the preceding season's investment, in order, it was said, that they might have as long a time as possible in which to labour. Before drawing whatever money he required from the treasury, the Resident had to ask‡ the permission of the Provincial Council at Burdwan. Before giving advances, agreements, or contracts on account of the Company's investment, had to be signed.§

It is scarcely necessary to state that balances often accrued on the part of the contractors with the Company. In explanation the Resident said||:—"The most considerable part of the balances which I have mentioned to have been paid was delivered before the famine commenced, and since that time it has been very difficult to procure workmen, which is the reason of the decrease in the several assortments."

There was a balance due from the merchants who provided the investment of Rs. 140,000: it was of a very old standing. The Resident said¶—"It was nine or ten years ago more than this sum, and the manner in which it has been paying off is that when the merchants received Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 60,000, or whatever sum the annual amount of the investment was, they provided Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 20,000 worth (according to circumstances; more cloth than was ordered. However they

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, dated Midnapore, the 11th January 1772.

† From the Resident to Mr. Aldersey, Controller of Investments, dated Midnapore, the 20th October 1774.

‡ From the Resident to Mr. Edward Stephenson, Chief, &c., Members of the Provincial Council, dated Midnapore, the 11th March 1776.

§ From the Resident to Samuel Middleton, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 20th June 1774.

|| From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 15th March 1771.

¶ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, dated Midnapore, the 1st May 1771.

have not been able to clear the original balance, nor reduce it to a lower sum than it now is." In September 1771 the Resident* wrote finally :—

"I beg leave to remark to you that there are some balances of a very old standing, and that it is requisite to make some small advances in order to collect them in.* * * It is only by such little helps as these that the balances can be renewed. I am induced to hope that you will approve of their having been afforded. Whether I may be permitted to continue them, whilst I take care to have the amount of the advance doubled in return, you, gentlemen, will be pleased to determine."

In the same year† it was resolved that for more speedy dispatch of business all dispatches of goods should be made immediately to the Controlling Committee of Commerce instead of their going through the channel of the Board, as had heretofore been usual.

"The year 1771‡ closed with the following letter :—" As we have reason to suppose an undue influence has been exerted in different parts of the country for the support of monopolies, and to the great detriment of that free commerce so essential to the welfare of every country, we think proper now to remind you of the directions conveyed to you in our letter of the 14th March 1771, and to acquaint you that any persons who do not strictly adhere to them will incur our severest displeasure."

The following extract from a letter§ written by the Resident will illustrate the nature of a profitable investment, the kind of objections that the Directors in England thought proper to make on occasions, and the causes which operated to afford a basis for the dissatisfaction.

"Much stress is laid on the sameness of the cloths made here, and variety in the pattern is much recommended. I believe that the principal cause of this complaint is a want of patterns to make the cloth by, as it is impossible, gentlemen, from verbal description to explain to the merchants what kind of colours purple, light blossom, chocolate, bright yellow, are; but if you will order patterns to be sent to me of the different sorts of cloths which you would have provided, I will venture to engage to make a greater variety than heretofore, if I am not able to make them entirely similar to the patterns. Mr. Guinaud reflects on the quality of the peniascoes and gingham. Two causes may be assigned for the defection in these articles: the merchants complain, and I believe with justice, that the price of tusser, a species of silk of which the cloths are made, is enhanced of late years. In the time of Mr. Watts' residence, about seven years ago, the peniascoes and gingham were greatly improved in their quality, but the price of the former was Rs. 6-12, and the latter Rs. 6. The Company complained of these prices, and ordered a reduction to be made. It was utterly out of the power of the merchants to comply with the direction of the Company, and

* From Edward Baber to the Honorable the President and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, dated Midnapore, the 22nd September 1771.

† From John Cartier, S. Middleton, Claud Russell, and John Reed, to Mr. Edward Baber, dated Fort William, the 14th October 1771.

‡ From John Cartier, S. Middleton, John Reed, Joseph Jekyll, P. M. Dacres, and Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, dated Fort William, the 27th December 1771.

§ From Edward Baber to the Honorable the President and Members of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, dated Midnapore, the 24th April 1772.

to afford to make cloth of superior quality to what they had ever been before for an inferior price, and they represented that if the Company would consent to take an inferior assortment they would abate their price. In consequence of this a muster of ginghams and peniascoes of an inferior quality was fixed on, and the prices of these were to be, for the former Rs. 4-6, for the latter Rs. 5-12. These inferior assortments the merchants declare are at as low a price as they can afford, and that if the price of peniascoes is still to be reduced—according to Mr. Guinaud's restriction not to exceed Rs. 5—the quality must still be reduced also. Mr. Guinaud observes that the sursukhey fine are too dear at Rs. 10, and that if this sort of cloth could be made with white ground and yellow stripes it might increase the investment. There are two assortments of this article: first surtuikhin fine, which are Rs. 10-4; the other is only called sursukkey, and prized at only Rs. 9. Of either of these sortments, the Company may be supplied with as many white ground as they please to order. Before I conclude perhaps you, gentlemen, may not deem it improper or foreign to the subject I have been employed on if I touch slightly on the nature of the tusser and the manner it is provided. The ginghams, nillaes, and peniascoes, are made of it. This is a species of silk produced from a worm which is found chiefly in the wildest parts of the jungles, and nourished from a tree which grows there, called the assna, in like manner as the silkworm is from the mulberry plant. Like the silkworm, they spin and die; but the tusser is produced at two seasons of the year only—September and November, and not at several, as the silk is. The worm is nurtured by the inhabitants of these jungles, who are as wild and uncultivated as the woods they inhabit; and the merchants send agents at the two seasons of the year when the tusser is produced to purchase it of these people. I have been induced to trouble you, gentlemen, with this short account, in order to show you that the provision of this article is attended with difficulty which others that are under your manufactures are not liable to, and that the procuring of materials produced in these wilds, under the management of their rude inhabitants, must be very precarious.”

In January 1773 a representation* was made by the Resident, in consequence of an expression of surprise on the part of the Committee of Commerce at not having received any piece-goods from the Midnapore factory, that as those who provided the investment were talookdars as well as merchants, and as they had been detained at the presidency, together with the Resident, for the settlement of the revenues above two months, the Resident was prevented from sending any portion of the investment to Calcutta: in fact, there was no one in Midnapore to send it.

In February 1773† the Resident said:—“The September *bund* of silk failed this year so much that universal complaints are made by the merchants of the scarcity and dearness of this article. I apprehend therefore, gentlemen, that they will not be able to fulfil their

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, dated Midnapore, the 6th January 1773.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, dated Midnapore, the 5th February 1773.

engagements for silk piece-goods. The tusser goods, I flatter myself, you will find remarkably good this year, particularly those of the present dispatch.”

An extract* from the proceedings of a consultation which was held on the 12th April 1773 will not be uninteresting:—“It is resolved, first, that all weavers and manufacturers shall in future have full liberty to work for whom they please, and shall on no pretence whatever be obliged to receive advances against their inclination, either from the Company or from private merchants. It is intended, however, that they shall complete any engagements which they may have already made for this year.

“That we will receive proposals from all native merchants who may be willing to contract with the Company for any quantity of goods (not amounting to less than Rs. 20,000) of the proper assortments for their investment, and to give satisfactory security for the performance of their engagements.

“That we will receive for ready money whatever goods of proper assortments may be tendered upon suitable terms.

“As our honourable masters, with a view to the freedom of the trade and the welfare of the country, have thought proper to relinquish the influence of their authority in the provision of their investment, they expect an equal attention from their servants. Whoever, therefore, shall attempt, directly or indirectly, to force advances upon the weavers, &c., or make them enter into engagements against their will, or in any way exercise an undue influence over them, shall be immediately suspended from the Company’s service; and if any Collector shall, upon their complaining to him, neglect to give them proper redress, he shall be removed from his station.”

Apparently *dewance* duties used to be paid on bales of piece-goods belonging to the investment and dispatched to Calcutta.†

In November 1773‡ the many weighty and important avocations of the Board rendering it impossible for them to give that official attendance to the export warehouse which was required by the rules of the service, and some mode of general control having become indispensably necessary for enforcing the execution of the Company’s orders, and for superintending the various offices of investment, which they were of opinion would be more actively and diligently managed by a single person possessed of due authority, and more immediately responsible for the success of that important branch of the Company’s affairs, than by the Board at large or by a committee, it was resolved that this charge be delegated with the full authority of the Board to Mr. Aldersey, with the title of Controller of the Investments. All letters on the subject of the investment were to be immediately delivered to the Controller. He was to prepare all answers and orders relating

* Extract of Consultation, the 12th April 1773, being the enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, and William Lambert, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 12th April 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to the Hon’ble the President, &c., Members of the Committee of Commerce, dated Midsnapore, the 27th October 1773.

‡ Extract of Consultation, the 25th November 1773, being an enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, J. Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and Geo. Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 25th November 1773.

thereto, which, if approved, were to be signed by the Board; not to be entered on their proceedings, but on separate records to be kept by the Controller of all his transactions. He was authorized to correspond himself with the chiefs of the different subordinate settlements on occasional matters that required dispatch and were not of sufficient importance for a reference to the President and Council.

In February 1774* a gomashita was to be sent to Midnapore under the direction of the Controller of the Investments, with particular instructions to have the musters of piece-goods recommended by the Superintendent, Mr. Guinaud, kept up to. There had been a defection in this respect

It might be stated,† as constituting matter of statistical import, that timbers were sold in 1772 for Rs. 8 each, chunam at Rs. 80 per maund, sand at Rs. 2 per 100 maunds, molasses at Rs. 2 per maund, hemp at Rs. 4, twine at Rs. 6; sawyers got Rs. 5 per mensem, bricks were sold at Rs. 5 per 1,000, coolies got Rs. 3 per mensem, carpenters Rs. 3-8, masons Rs. 7, head carpenters Rs. 8, blacksmiths Rs. 3-8, head blacksmiths Rs. 8.

In the hope that the information will not be considered quite out of place, here is given, for the sake of illustrating the extent of the Company's trade and revenue returns, an account of the portions of the investment transmitted to Calcutta at various periods during the course of the year 1771, also an account of the treasure remitted in the same way. On the 7th January‡ 103 bales of piece-goods were sent to the Hon'ble John Cartier, on the 24th March§ 124 bales, on the 29th September|| 53 bales. On the 7th January¶ 1771 one lakh of rupees was sent to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General. On the 16th March** a bill on the Military Paymaster-General for current Rs. 13,700 was sent, and a lakh of rupees was promised in two days. On the 22nd April†† a bill on the Military Paymaster-General for current Rs. 14,000 was sent, and another for Rs. 12,000 on the 22nd May;‡‡ a third for Rs. 10,250 on the 19th June.§§ A lakh of rupees was sent on the 24th June,|||| another lakh on the 9th August¶¶ to the Controlling

* From Warren Hastings, Mr. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and Geo. Vansittart, to Samuel Lewis, Esq., dated Fort William, the 10th February 1774.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 25th June 1772.

‡ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 7th January 1771.

§ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 24th March 1771.

|| From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 29th September 1771.

¶ From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 7th January 1771.

** From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 16th March 1771.

†† From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 22nd April 1771.

‡‡ From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 22nd May 1771.

§§ From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 19th June 1771.

|||| From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 24th June 1771.

¶¶ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 9th August 1771.

Committee of Revenue. On the 17th August* two bills of exchange, one on the Military Paymaster-General for Rs. 10,400, and another on Mr. Charles Hampton for C. Rs. 1,388, the last being the sum supplied to Mr. Marriott at Balasore for the payment of the daks, were sent. On the 29th September† Rs. 1,56,000 were sent to the Committee of Revenue; on the 5th October‡ a bill of exchange for Rs. 10,400 on the Military Paymaster-General, and another on the same gentleman for current Rs. 10,700 on the 23rd November.§ Also at the same time a bill on Mr. Hampton for Rs. 2,260. On the 5th December|| one lakh of sicca rupees was sent, and on the 18th December¶ a bill of exchange on the Military Paymaster-General for Rs. 10,200. The total number of bales thus sent to Calcutta amounted to 280, and of rupees in cash and in bills to Rs. 6,51,298, throughout the year 1771.

* From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 17th August 1771.

† From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 29th September 1771.

‡ From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 5th October 1771.

§ From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 23rd November 1771.

|| From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 5th December 1771.

¶ From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 18th December 1771.



CHAPTER VIII.

SALT.

Period 1764—74.

FROM the earliest times down to the abolition of the monopoly the manufacture of salt for the Government of the Company engrossed so largely the attention of the officials, that these notes would be justly considered incomplete without some account of the rise and progress of the transactions connected with the salt manufacture, and revenue accruing therefrom. Under this conviction it has been deemed expedient to reserve a separate chapter in these notes for salt.

In June 1765,* an intention was disclosed by the Government in Calcutta to form a general plan for trade in the article of salt, and Mr. Watts was required to state whether it would be agreeable to him to contract for the produce of his district, in which case he was to present his terms. In reply† he promised to submit a report on the state of the salt-works in the district, and at the same time expressed an intention to dispose of the salt produced in Midnapore by contracts.

The following is a statement‡ of the salt-works that existed in July 1765 in the chaklas of Midnapore and Jellasure.

" PERGUNNAHS.	Khalaris.	Salt produced.	By whom worked.
Mayanachara ...	137	12,000	By Mr. Hugh Watts, at Rs. 51 per hundred maunds.
Dantanutta ...	15	1,500	" the talookdars.
Birkul ...	262	55,000	" Mr. Hugh Watts, at Rs. 36 per hundred maunds.
	288	20,000	" Major Stibbert.
	50	9,000	" Mr. Lane.
Balsai ...	83½	15,000	" " Hugh Watts, at Rs. 43 per hundred maunds.
	27	3,000	" " Johnstone.
	17	2,000	" Sam Dutt.
Mirgoda ...	118	14,000	" Mr. Hugh Watts, at Rs. 36 per hundred maunds.
Kukrachar ...	11½	4,000	" ditto ditto ditto.
Sabang ...	137½	12,183	" Talookdar, Mr. Watts, at 51 Sonaut rupees.
	187	31,000	" Mr. Johnstone, at 62 ditto.
	1,336½	1,81,683	

The 137½ pans referred to above as situated in Sabang were in a talook Mr. Watts purchased of Mr. Steer's executors for "the advantage of making of salt."

* From Clive, William B. Sumner, H. Verelst, and F. Sykes, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, Select Committee, the 22nd June 1765.

† From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c, Members of the Select Committee, dated Midnapore, the 27th June 1765.

‡ From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c, Members of the Select Committee, dated Midnapore, the 15th August 1765.

It appears* that merchants came from the westward in the dry months and purchased salt in Midnapore, principally at Anandpur, on the boundary between Midnapore and Burdwan, for the salt was lodged in golahs there after being brought from the khalaris in Mayanachara, Sabang, and Dantamutta. The quantity was liable to fluctuation, but about 70,000 or 80,000 maunds might be said to be sold yearly in the province of the produce of the salt khalaris in the Midnapore chakla.

In September 1765† Mr. Hugh Watts contracted to deliver under certain conditions at Anandpur golahs 80,000 maunds, and at Calcutta 1,20,000.

In March 1766‡ it was ordered that no commission was to be drawn on the sales of the salt. Persons who purchased and asked for a *dustuck* with the salt would get it on application being made by Mr. Graham for them. All new salt imported into the Midnapore district was to be seized by Mr. Graham and delivered to the Society at the price the Government had agreed to pay for the salt to be received at Anandpur.

On the 16th March§ Mr. Graham wrote to the Committee of Trade saying there was no prospect of disposing of the Committee's salt at Anandpur at the rate of Rs. 2 per maund of 80 sicca weight. "Up-country merchants did not come; they had left off coming personally since Mr. Burdett's residence, having received some disgust during it, but they waited in some of the adjacent districts for the salt being brought to them. They were not heard of in 1766. The merchants of the country had been for the last three years the only purchasers of salt, and they declared that they dared not venture to buy at such an enhanced price until their advices from the up-country merchants of the state of the markets above should afford them a prospect of profiting by their purchases." Mr. Graham said that he was apt to conclude, therefore, that exclusive of what might be wanted for the consumption of the provinces, perhaps 10,000 or 12,000 maunds, it would not be possible to effect any considerable sales till after the rains. Golahs at the Society's expense had been erected at Anandpur, and salt used to be conveyed there from the khalaris. A gomashtha and a suitable establishment were entertained at that place.

Later in the month|| Mr. Graham again wrote to the Committee of Trade in those words:—"I have received a letter from Mr. Marriott at Balasore advising me that a number of *beparees*, with about 2,000 head of carriage-bullocks, are come down to Busta, a village in the Mahratta districts adjoining to the province of Jellasure, with an intention to purchase and carry away a quantity of salt, and desiring that I would interpose to prevent this injury to the Society's trade.

* From the Resident to William Brightwell Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 2nd September 1765.

† From the Resident to William Brightwell Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 2nd September 1765.

‡ From Messrs. Verelst and H. Watts to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 7th March 1766.

§ From Mr. Graham to William B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 16th March 1766.

|| From Mr. Graham to William B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Shapth, the 29th March 1766.

As I have it not in my power to exercise force in the Mahratta territories, I have been able to afford Mr. Marriott no further assistance than by writing letters to the Balasore foudar and the Chief at Cuttack, explaining the nature of the Society's privileges and desiring they will not countenance this illicit infringement of them. I do not apprehend, however, that my endeavours will have the desired effect, and I therefore thought proper to advise you of the circumstance, that you may take what further means you think necessary to put an effectual stop to this practice. It is not the quantity of salt they can carry away that is to be regarded (although it is very possible it may affect my sales at Anandpur), but the example which it sets for despising and undervaluing the Society's* exclusive grants, and thereby prejudicing the success of the general scheme."

In reply* to the Resident's communications Messrs. Verelst and Watts said,—“We cannot think of lowering the price we have fixed for the sale of our salt at Anandpur, as we are of opinion that the salt trade from that place towards Patna proves greatly detrimental to the markets in those parts; and if the merchants could purchase it at a less price than what has already been settled by us, they would have it in their power to undersell us at the markets near Patna, as they can carry it up at a much less expense than we possibly can. By this you will perceive that our intention is, where the markets are supplied both by us and the merchants, to keep a poise in both."

In this year it was decided† that the khalaris belonging to Major Stibbert and Mr. Hare should be worked for the remainder of the season on account of the Society, and that the salt that was made at them during the season should be delivered to Mr. Graham. Accordingly the agent of these gentlemen delivered over the Lamprie‡ khalaris. Mr. Graham§ said:—“As Messrs. Stibbert and Hare had put a stop to the boiling some time before I received your order, by the time it arrived I found almost all the molungees had gone and engaged themselves at the works in the Mahratta districts. I have now employed people to bring them back and renew the boiling; but as it will be attended with a good deal of trouble and petty charges, I would beg leave to propose the delivering the whole produce of these khalaris to the Society at Calcutta on the same terms with the salt produced at Birkul, instead of receiving what is now ready, and working the remainder of the season on account of the Society. If this proposal is agreeable to you, I shall receive the little profit which accrues as a compensation for my trouble, and the Committee will be relieved from the perplexity and inconvenience of adjusting amounts with gomash-tas.

“The *beparees* who were at Busta came thither by some roads which lie through the jungles to the westward of this province,

* From Messrs. H. Verelst and H. Watts to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 2nd April 1766.

† From Messrs. H. Verelst and H. Watts to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 11th April 1766.

‡ Lamprie means Nafri, a village in the Balasore district, distant two or three miles from the embouchure of the Subarnrekha, and 10 miles from the D. P. W. inspection bungalow in pergunnah Birkul.

§ From John Graham to W. B. Sumner, Esq., Members of the Committee of Trade, &c., dated Dantun, the 25th April 1766.

Burdwan, &c., of which I am unable to obtain any exact account. If the Mahrattas furnish them with salt, they will return by the same route. However, I am endeavouring to engage them either to come and purchase at Anandpur or to quit the country." In reply* Mr. Graham was informed that his offers were accepted with regard to his working Messrs. Stibbert and Hare's khalaris, and the amount that had been advanced by those gentlemen should be accounted for with them. The *beparees* at Busta were to be informed that a strict watch would be kept on them to find out to what market they carried any new salt they purchased in the Mahratta district, and that they would be prevented from underselling the Company in their own districts by a heavy duty being laid on all salt that was exposed to sale which had not been bought of the Society. In accordance with his instruction Mr. Graham† accounted with the proprietors of the khalaris for the advances which they had made to the molungees, and he proceeded to continue the boiling.

About this time 15,000 maunds of salt were sold at Anandpur at the rate of 2 rupees per maund. In May‡ there were required to be exported to "Nawabganj 20,000 maunds of salt; to Caragolah 20,000 maunds; to Jamalganj, near Rungpore, 2,00,000 maunds; to Sundeah, near Dinagepore, 2,00,000 maunds; to Durbhunga 1,00,000 maunds; to Rajabaharry 30,000 maunds; to Calcutta 30,000 maunds; to Gattal and Kanchannagar 2,00,000 maunds; to Patna 40,000 maunds; to Chilmari 1,00,000 maunds; to Ranabahony 2,00,000 maunds; to Anandpur 80,000 maunds; to Gaulparah 1,00,000 maunds." The exportation was with a view that every country merchant should have an equal share of the trade after the salt had been landed at the aforementioned markets. All Europeans were to be excluded, and proposals were to be received from country merchants only for the sale of the salt to be delivered as described above. No larger quantity of salt was to be sent up till the next season. Whatever proposals were accepted, payments were to be made as the salt was weighed off.

To§ the end of May 21,000 maunds of salt were sold at the Society's golahs at Anandpur. Golahs for the reception of 80,000 maunds had been erected there.

In June|| the sales of salt at Anandpur were forbidden by the Committee of Trade, apparently because they had disposed of the whole quantity of salt they had remaining there to the country merchants. At this time there were khalaris in Sabang, Birkul, Balsai; besides those called the "Lamprie" khalaris.

From Messrs. W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, and H. Watts, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 3rd May 1766.

† From Mr. Graham to William B. Sumner, Esq., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 22nd May 1766.

‡ From Messrs. W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, R. Marriott, and H. Watts, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 15th May 1766.

§ From Mr. Graham to W. B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 9th June 1766.

|| From James Lawrell, Secretary to the Committee of Trade, to Mr. John Graham, dated Calcutta, the 12th June 1766.

From Mr. Graham to William B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 7th July 1766.

In August* Mr. Graham was asked what proposals he could make with regard to the contract to supply the salt of the next season, as a preference was to be given to the factories adjacent to the districts where the salt was made. The Committee hoped, from the experience Mr. Graham had had in this branch, that his conditions would be more reasonable than those of the last season. It was accordingly published† at the Midnapore factory that the Company were ready to receive proposals for contracting for the ensuing year's salt to be made in the Midnapore province. Mr. Graham reported that the accounts of the last year's boiling had not yet been adjusted with the zemindars and molungees; but as soon as they were, Mr. Graham would take the liberty to transmit such conditions as he might find it in his power to offer for carrying on the business in the ensuing season.

Finally‡ he said:—"I am sorry to find it is not in my power to tender you more reasonable terms than those of last contract for carrying on the salt business of this province in the ensuing season. The contracting prices with the zemindars and molungees are so much enhanced by the heavy expense of land carriage from the khalaris to Anandpur golahs, the boat hire from Birkul, &c., to Calcutta, and the precariousness of that passage, as to leave, I may safely say, but a very moderate equivalent for the trouble and risk of the contractor with the Society. On the same terms, however, I am willing to undertake the business of the ensuing year, and agreeably thereto to deliver as follows:—At Anandpur golahs 70,000 maunds; at Calcutta from Birkul, Balsai, 1,30,000 maunds; and from Lamprie khalaris 20,000 maunds: in all 2,20,000 maunds."

In September§ Mr. Graham's offer to undertake the provision of the ensuing year's salt on the same terms as last season was accepted. The salt produced in the pergunnahs of Mayanachara, Sabang, and Dantamutta, was to be delivered at Anandpur into the Society's golahs at the rate of Sonat Rs. 86 per 100 maunds. The salt produced in the pergunnahs of Birkul, Balsai, Mirgoda, Kakrachar, and at Nafri, was to be delivered into the Society's golahs at Calcutta at the rate of Sonat Rs. 83 per 100 maunds. The whole delivery, both at Anandpur and Calcutta, was to be completed by the 31st August 1767. The salt was to be as pure as it was collected from the pans. Mr. Graham was to have no claims whatever to balances or bad debts either from the Society or molungees, but should, at the expiration of his contract, engage to deliver in a list of such balances and bad debts to the committee that the Society might reap the full benefit thereof in preserving their authority over the molungees who were to continue their work. The committee would make advances in three equal payments: the first to be completed within the month of October, the second within the month of December, and the third within the month of February.

* From Messrs. W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, and R. Marriott, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 11th August 1766.

† From the Resident to William B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 17th August 1766.

‡ From the Resident to William B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Members of the Committee of Trade, dated Midnapore, the 22nd August 1766.

§ From Messrs. W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, R. Marriott, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 12th September 1766.

Should any part thereof remain due after the time for the delivery of the salt had elapsed, Mr. Graham was to allow the Society an interest on the same after the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, to be calculated according to the periods of the advances. Mr. Graham was not to be bound by any penalty for the delivery of a certain quantity, but he was to deliver to the committee all the salt that should be made in the before-mentioned districts, and he was to sell none to any other person whatever.

In this year the Government wrote* to Mr. Graham thus:—"The privilege of granting *dustucks* we have determined to confine to the President and the Chiefs of the subordinate settlements. You must therefore apply to the President for whatever *dustucks* you may have occasion for, which we do not see is liable to any inconvenience, as it cannot be attended with a delay of more than two or three days."

In April 1767 the Resident, Mr. Vansittart, was directed to take charge of the Society's salt as soon as it was transported to Anandpur by the contractor, but the Government said†:—"As we imagine its being immediately disposed of might interfere with our sales at Patna, as the *beparees* carry it through the jungles into the Behar province, we must request you will wait our further orders before you make any sales except for the supply of the Midnapore and Jellasure provinces. The quantity that you dispose of for the consumption of those parts, you will please to receive the bazar price for." Subsequently it was directed‡ that if the Resident found that it would not be possible to prevent the *beparees* who traded towards Patna getting salt in a clandestine manner, he should supply them with that article from the Society's golahs at Anandpur.

In June attempts§ were made to stop the salt merchants from going into the Mahratta country: many of them pretended to go to Anandpur, and followed the road leading there, but afterwards took an opportunity of moving away to the other country. The most efficient manner of stopping them was, on their return, by seizing their salt, provided perwannahs were granted to those merchants who who passed through the jungles and bought their salt from the Company, signifying that they did so. Since the jungle zemindars had stopped any from going through their country, most of the Patna salt merchants passed to the Mahratta country without the bounds of the Midnapore district, by the country of Patkum and Singbhoom, which were not within the limits of either of the two provinces. However, the action of the zemindars was not altogether unsuccessful,|| for in the same month 200 Mahratta salt traders' bullocks laden with salt were stopped owing to the fidelity of Jagannath Dhal, zemindar of Ghatsila, who by no means would allow them to pass through his

* From Clive, W. B. Sumner, H. Verelst, R. Marriott, H. Watts, C. Russell, W. Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, dated Fort William, the 11th August 1766.

† From Messrs. John Cartier, Claud Russell, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 8th April 1767.

‡ From Messrs. John Cartier, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. George Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 6th May 1767.

§ From J. Fergusson to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 4th June 1767.

|| From J. Fergusson to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 7th June 1767.

country; they were obliged therefore to attempt the Balarampur road, and were stopped by the Jhatibunni zemindar's people. And later on a great many more bullocks laden with salt were taken.

Mr. Fergusson,* in describing the seizure, said:—"I wrote you some time ago that I had taken several of the salt-smugglers, I have also since taken several, the whole may amount to between four and six hundred bullocks, for the greater part of these were a good deal stunned to find us so well acquainted with price of this counterband salt, though they took pains to represent it much more. However, on the proposal of Rs. 160 per 100 maunds being made, most of them give up their salt at the 50 without hesitation, requesting that they might be allowed the hasil, &c., which was taken from them on the road. This occasioned a new inquiry, and I found that the generality of the zemindars did not pay the due regard to the salt perwannahs sent them, and that some were led into this by the connivance of Balarampur Tanedar, who instructed the *beparees* to say that the salt was mine. This produced a scrutiny into the Tanedar's conduct, by which it appeared that he had encouraged and made a perquisite of the trade during his whole residence here, for which I immediately dismissed him. Likewise, in order to secure the zemindars from being guilty of conniving at the escape of these people, I have taken a written promise from them that they will pay Rs. 15 for every bullock loaded with salt that escapes their vigilance, as also for every bullock which is loaded with salt within the Company's pergunnahs in their charge; this last being intended against the Moharbhaj Rajah. I also, for security's sake, have placed peons at avenues where they will be aptly and easily stopped. For this service there will be five peons necessary, independent of the revenue ones according to your former order. All these *beparees* are either residents of this jungle itself or of Bishnupur."

In† another quarter also seizures of contraband salt were made. Two thousand maunds of salt were seized in Calcutta, which were said to have been imported from the Mayanachara Raja's districts. A further quantity was reported to be loading in order to be smuggled away.

It appears proper to give in this place an extract‡ from the Hon'ble Company's general letter dated 20th November 1767:—"For this purpose we direct that the salt trade be laid open to the natives in general under the following regulations:—That all the khalaris or salt-pans within the Company's jurisdiction in the Calcutta pergunnahs and Company's lands, and the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, be put up to public sale at their respective capitals and sold to the best bidder, five khalaris in each lot, and that no person be allowed to take more than thirty lots, which we judge will enable him to make about 45,000 or 50,000 bazaar maunds of salt in the year; and that two months' notice be given all over the country before the sale begins, and all Europeans are hereby expressly prohibited from being bidders at such sales or holding any of the salt-works in their

* From J. Fergusson to Geo. Vansittart, dated Balarampur, the 1st July 1767.

† From James Lawrell to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 22nd January 1768.

‡ Enclosure to a letter from Edward Baber to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Fort William, the 11th August 1768.

hands, either directly or indirectly.” However, to the carrying out of these orders a persistent opposition was made. It was stated* by the Resident :—“ I expect that many petitions will be presented to me by the zemindars in consequence of these orders. The khalaris are included in their sunnuds, and they have been used to look upon them as their own property. I believe there are some of them to whom it will be found necessary either to grant some equivalent or allow a deduction in their rents. However, it will be time enough to settle this matter at at the next tushkis.” In some measure to obviate the complaints that would undoubtedly be made by the zemindar, it was proposed† that no one should be allowed to contract for above a limited quantity, and that the contractor should engage to carry the salt to one of the public markets which had been fixed upon. The‡ zemindars directly urged that the khalaris—some of which yielded 200 maunds and upwards, some between 200 and 150 maunds, while others less than 150 maunds—formed a part of their zemindaries, were included in their sunnuds, and had ever been considered as their own property, and that it was merely by the profits thereof that they were enabled to pay the Company’s malgoozaris; that considerable quantities of salt were due from them to different merchants, and large sums of money had been lent them upon the credit of their khalaris; and that if their khalaris were now taken away from them it would be totally out of their power either to pay their revenue, fulfil their contracts, or satisfy their creditors. The same people being ryots of the zemindars and employed in the business of cultivation, as well as that of making salt, many disputes would probably arise concerning them between the zemindars and the purchasers of the khalaris. They eventually succeeded§ in bringing home their objections, for the “outery” of the salt khalaris was deferred by orders|| passed in October 1768, and eventually abandoned altogether.

In October 1768 || certain new regulations to be observed in the salt trade were promulgated. The Government said :—“ As the salt made last year is now moving from the churs, and no duty hath yet been established on it, nor any regulations made regarding the disposal of it,

“The Board are of opinion that previous to their resolutions on the Committee’s letter this circumstance should be first attended to, and the same having been maturely considered—

“Agreed that we write to the Resident at the Durbar to recommend to the Ministers to issue their orders for putting in execution the regulations we propose with regard to the disposal of this salt, and which are as follows :—

“That a duty on it of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds be collected at Hooghly and Rajabarry, and that the Government officers

* From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 22nd August 1768.

† From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 22nd August 1768.

‡ From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 30th September 1768.

§ From Richard Becher, Collector-General, to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, 13th October 1768.

|| From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, 16th October 1768.

¶ Extract from Fort William Consultation, the 7th October 1768, being enclosure to a letter from Richard Becher, Collector-General, to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 27th October 1768.

employed in the collection of this duty grant perwannahs on the receipt thereof, specifying the quantity of salt, the person it belongs to, and the amount of duties collected, which shall then pass to the different marts it may be intended for free of every other duty, and that this duty be collected as the salt is brought to either of the first-named places by those who import it.

“That the strictest orders be given to all other chokies not to collect any further duty or toll on any salt for which such perwannahs shall be produced; and to prevent any smuggling, all salt attempted to be passed without such perwannah shall be confiscated.

“That the most public notice be issued in all parts that after the payment of the above duty no other shall be collected under pain of the severest punishment: and

“In order that the intention of these regulations, which are meant solely for the use and convenience of the natives, may not be frustrated—

“Agreed that we recommend to the Resident at the Durbar that at the same time he proposes them to the Ministers, he will also most earnestly recommend to them to prevent as much as possible a monopoly at any of the markets.

“As there are frequently means found by individuals to convey salt out of the provinces of Midnapore and Burdwan over the hills into Behar, and in order to prevent this practice—

“Agreed that the Collector-General be desired to write to the Rajah of Burdwan and Resident to grant perwannahs for all salt that may be sent through that district on the persons to whom it belongs paying the stipulated duty of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds, and to give public notice that all salt which may or shall be found without these perwannahs shall be confiscated; that the Collector-General be further desired to issue these regulations to the Resident at Midnapore, that the like precautions may be taken in his district, and to transmit them also to Chittagong.

“Agreed also that we acquaint the Chief of Patna with these regulations, and desire that he will request the officers of the Government there to take such measures as will most effectually prevent any salt being brought into the province of Behar in a clandestine manner, and to seize and confiscate whatever quantity may by any means be conveyed into the province without these perwannahs; and that it be particularly mentioned to the Resident at the Durbar, the Collector-General, and Chief of Patna, that these restrictions are meant only for the salt that was made last season, and not that belonging to the Committee of Trade, which will always be distinguished by its having had a *dustuck*.

“The Board then proceeded to take into mature consideration the orders and directions of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors contained in their letter of the 20th November 1767, regarding the salt business, and it is their unanimous opinion that the khalaris in these districts should not be put up to sale—an opinion that they are the more inclined to from the consideration that though they cannot act up to the literal orders of the Court of Directors without an evident disadvantage to the Company, yet that they shall not deviate from the spirit and meaning of them, and that by the regulations they

now propose for carrying on the salt trade, they shall be enabled to put it on as equitable and just a footing as the Court of Directors have proposed without subjecting them to the inconveniences that they have here pointed out, and these regulations are—

“That every zemindar or landholder whose churs or khalaris are granted to him by sunnud, and also all farmers on lease, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of working them, but they shall be restricted by bond and penalty not to dispose of a larger quantity than maunds to any one purchaser; they are to keep an account of every sale, which must be weekly transmitted to the sudder or head cutcheries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, there to be recorded and reference made on any scrutiny which may be deemed necessary in regard to persons, quantity, or price, which may serve to prevent monopolies.

“That an entire freedom be granted to all other merchants, natives of the country, of the castes of Moors or Gentoos, for renting and working all other khalaris whatever, provided no one person, directly or indirectly, makes a larger quantity than maunds 50,000. The restricting in quantity we deem more consonant to the wishes of our masters than in khalaris, they being of such different sizes as to yield from 100 to 300 maunds each; and in order to encourage the molunghis to their duty, to diffuse amongst the merchants this liberty, and to prevent confusion or disputes one with another, every merchant himself must engage in his service the molunghis, whom he must bring to the nearest public cutcherry to be examined whether they are free from all other engagements; and it is voluntarily that they themselves enter into his service, when their names and residence must be registered, with the name and residence of the merchant to whom they engage, which engagement is to last for one year only; and the zemindar of each district is directed to lend every assistance to secure to such merchant the attentive service of such molunghis, and, again, to see that the merchant strictly conforms to his engagements with the molunghis; and in case any one merchant should seduce, or attempt to seduce, any molunghi from another merchant, he shall be fined as the case may merit. The molunghis thus engaged for one year shall not be liable, after the expiration of that year, to be called upon for further services by the merchant, unless voluntarily, and for no balances whatever after the expiration of the approaching season. But in consideration of the very heavy balances due from the molunghis to the merchants on account of the last year's advances, they are to have the preference of the molunghis' services for this season. The above register of merchants and molunghis to be sent weekly to the general head cutcheries in order that public license may be granted to the merchants for entertaining the molunghis registered. The officer of each district is also to keep an account of all salt made therein, and by whom, and to send the same to the head cutchery, there to be recorded weekly; and it is strictly recommended, to prevent as much as possible any one family or set of merchants combining together or in any shape establishing a monopoly.

“No salt to be removed from any churs without a rowannah from the Resident or Collector-General specifying the proprietors' names of such salt, the quantity, and number of boats on which it is transported

by water ; if by land, the number of bullocks, and by whatever means else it is transported.

“That weekly returns of the rowannahs granted by the Collector-General shall be transmitted to and entered by him in a general register, and that peons shall be sent with the rowannahs, as at present, with the *dustucks* and registers kept of the arrival of salt at the different markets in the Company’s lands, to be transmitted weekly to the Collector to be entered in his register.

“If any boats are found smuggling salt, the same be confiscated to the Government, boat and salt ; any boat having salt on board hoisting English colours, pretending to an English *dustuck*, or having more salt on board than specified in the rowannah, shall be liable to confiscation together with the cargo, and the Nabob’s ministers will seize the same as forfeited to the Government.

“That all salt produced at Ingellce, Absadaul, &c., districts, and the Company’s lands, shall be carried to and landed at Bally Creek, which is found upon a survey by Mr. Rennell to be a very proper place ; that all salt produced to the eastward shall be brought to Rajabaharry, which hath also been reported to us very proper for lodging the salt at.

“That the sum of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds shall be the duty to be collected from the importer on all salt brought to Bally Creek or Rajabaharry in order to secure to the Company the stipulated revenue of Rs. 81,00,000, which upon a calculation this duty will afford, even should the season prove unfavourable for manufacturing salt.

“The Board agree in opinion with the committee that the price of salt at these two places should not exceed more than 110 sicca rupees per 100 maunds. But, as we have resolved, the duty of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds shall be levied from the importer, and not the purchaser.

“That the price of salt shall be fixed at 140 sicca rupees per 100 maunds.

“Agreed that we transmit a copy of those regulations for the last as well as the ensuing season to the Resident at the Durbar, and desire him to recommend to the Ministers to adopt and follow the same.”

A considerable quantity of salt was usually conveyed* every year from the Mahratta districts through the western parts of Midnapore into the Behar province. Inquiries were made whether this salt was to pass duty free, or whether the duty of 50 rupees per 100 maunds was to be collected upon it. In the Midnapore chakla there were officers belonging to Hooghly who collected a duty of about 3 rupees per 100 maunds upon all the salt which passed through the country. It was asked whether this duty was to be paid henceforth, or whether those officers were to be removed? Inquiries whether the salt transported from the khalaris (always under perwannah) to Calcutta was to proceed duty free, or whether the usual customs were to be levied on it at the several chaukis in Burdwan, in the Calcutta lands, in the Hooghly and the Hijli districts, were also made. It was ordered† that immediate notice should be given that all salt brought into or conveyed through

* From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 28th October 1768.

† From Richard Becher to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 4th November 1768.

any part of the Midnapore province, either from the Mahratta districts or elsewhere, would be subjected to the duty of 30 rupees (sicca) per 100 maunds. On payment of this stipulated duty perwannahs were to be granted exempting it from all other duties. Any salt found without such perwannahs was to be confiscated. Respecting salt produced within the Company's districts, the perwannah to be given with it freed it from all duty except what should be required at the established marts.

A third place,* called Kalmabandi, for collecting the established duty on salt in the same manner as at Bally Creek and Rajabaharry, was fixed upon. The restriction which obliged the proprietors of salt to bring all that was made about the districts of Hijli to Bally Creek was taken off. The liberty was granted them of carrying it to any of the established markets that might best suit their interest or convenience.

Dustucks† used to be given for transporting salt into the Behar province after the payment of the established duty, and perwannahs also for the removal of salt from the khalaris. Lists of these were transmitted to the Collector-General. But‡ there were so many different roads into the Behar province, as well to the westward of the jungles as through them, that the salt merchants from the Mahratta districts could easily find their way thither without paying the duty of 3 sicca rupees per 10 maunds, in spite of any endeavour Mr. Vansittart might use to prevent them. The putting a stop to the illicit trade must depend, it was said, upon the officers in those districts keeping a very good look-out after whatever salt might be brought there without being furnished with proper *dustucks*. Mr. Alexander, the Collector-General, suggested§ the confiscation of the salt transported from the Mahratta districts not furnished with proper *dustucks* on its arrival in the Behar province.

The Board were of opinion|| that no further duty than the 30 per cent. should be collected on salt, and they further approved of the proposal to collect the duty on the granting of the perwannahs for the removal of the salt from the churs, in the same manner as was done by the native Government. If the salt made on the Company's lands was allowed to be removed from the churs before the duties were collected, it was apprehended that it would be impossible to prevent considerable quantities being smuggled, and the Company deprived of their revenues.

In January 1770¶ the Resident wrote that the restrictions in the way deterred every one from attempting to transport any salt to Calcutta, and consequently the Company would lose their duty this season ; but Mr. Vansittart resolved to collect the 30 per cent. at the

* From Edward Baber to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Fort William, the November 1768.

† From Edward Baber to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 24th January 1769.

‡ From the Resident to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 1st April 1769.

§ From James Alexander, Collector-General, to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 6th April 1769.

|| Extract from Consultation, the 1st August 1763, being enclosure to a letter from Claud Russell, Collector-General, to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., No. 30, dated 23rd January 1770.

¶ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 23rd January 1770.

khalaris, and to grant *dustucks* specifying that he had so done. Orders were solicited that salt furnished with these *dustucks* should not be obstructed at any of the chaukis.

The duty* of 30 per cent. on salt was levied from the 1st January 1770. The amount of this duty collected in Midnapore and Jellasure up to October of the year 1770, and which had been accounted for in the Company's treasury, was, for maunds 29,285, Company's rupees 10,191-3.† It was Rs. 16,453 for the whole year.

There were khalaris, capable of being worked in devuttar, and similar kinds of land, and also throughout the several pergunnahs of the Midnapore and Jellasure provinces. In devuttar, &c., lands, there were $18\frac{3}{4}$ khalaris, such as might probably yield maunds 200 and upwards in the year, and five such as might yield between 200 and 150, all of which were situated in Sabang, Mayanachar, Birkul, and Mirgoda. Throughout the several pergunnahs of the Midnapore and Jellasure provinces, that is in Sabang, Mayanachar, Balsai, Kakrachar, Birkul, Mirgoda, there were $520\frac{3}{4}$ khalaris, producing maunds 200 and upwards, $431\frac{1}{4}$ producing between 200 and 150, and $209\frac{1}{2}$ producing less than 150 maunds—total 1,162, the greatest number of khalaris being in Birkul, where it was 552, and the next greatest in Sabang, where it was $274\frac{1}{2}$. It is not quite clear why two different statements are given in the records—one of the khalaris on revenue-free lands, and the other of those on revenue paying lands. But as it was probable that the proprietors of the former lands got rents from Government or the contractors for the use of their lands, and those of the latter merely a deduction from the yearly jumma they paid into the treasury, so long as the Resident worked the khalaris directly for the Company, this circumstance may have created the necessity for the submission of two different statements. No explanation or remarks are given in the records themselves.

In 1771‡ it was feared that the mortality amongst the molunghees occasioned by the late famine would be the cause of a decrease in the quantity of salt to be produced in the year, and it was estimated that the very utmost produce of the year would not exceed 1,20,000 maunds of salt in the province.§

The letter quoted below|| will exemplify the extent to which Government officials engaged in commercial transactions on their own account:—"In obedience to the orders contained in your regulations for the conducting of the salt trade, the duty upon all salt sent out of these provinces is collected at the khalaris, and a *dustuck* granted by the Resident upon the duty being paid; and when such salt was sold in Calcutta and transported thence, it was usual for the Collector-General to grant rowannahs in exchange for these *dustucks*. Agreeably

* From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, No. 3, dated Midnapore, the 4th October 1770.

† Apparently the duty was collected in sicca currency.

‡ From John Cartier, Charles Floyer, John Reed, and H. Hare, to Mr. Edward Baber, dated Fort William, the 14th March 1771.

§ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 8th June 1771.

|| From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 14th September 1771.

to this custom I sent to Calcutta 34,250 maunds of salt, for which the Company have received 10,275 sicca rupees duty. As the *dustucks* which accompanied this salt have not been exchanged for rowannahs, I am therefore to request the favour of you, gentlemen, that if Messrs. Vansittart, Dorell, and Holland, my attornies, should apply for rowannahs in lieu of the above-mentioned *dustucks*, that you would be pleased to grant them the same."

In April 1772* the Government wrote:—"As the Directors seem desirous of establishing an entire freedom of trade in this article, we have it under speculation to adopt a general plan for carrying on this trade, upon the mode it is now conducted in the salt districts dependent on Hooghly.

"To obviate any impediment or obstruction to this intention, which appears to us calculated not only to promote a freedom and diffusiveness in this branch of trade, but also to produce a considerable increase of revenue to the Company, it is necessary to prevent advances being made to the zemindars, farmers, or molunghis by private traders with a view of establishing a claim to the next year's produce of salt. We desire, therefore, that copies and translations of the accompanying advertisement be circulated throughout every part as a check upon such engagement until we can come to a final determination upon this subject."

The advertisement referred to was as follows:—

"Notice is hereby given that the trade in the article of salt will, pursuant to the orders of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, undergo a new and general regulation, which will take place in the month of September next, with the produce of the salt-works which will then begin to be manufactured for the existing season. All persons, as well Europeans as natives, are therefore apprised that any advances made or imposed upon the zemindars, farmers, or molunghis, with a view to establish any claim or preference to the next year's produce of salt, will be deemed collusive and invalid, and are consequently to be forfeited."

In the course of the year Mr. Baber† wrote:—"I beg leave to inform you that it is full time to make advances to the molunghis, and they are very pressing to receive them. If they do not get some, they will be running away into the Mahratta districts, and then great deficiency in the salt will be occasioned. If you will give leave, I will make the necessary advances just to secure them, and hereafter, when you have fixed on the plan relative to this article, I will account with you for their amount."

Again, he wrote‡ in the following month:—"In obedience to your commands I have the honor to send you enclosed an account§ of the salt lands in these districts separated from the malgoozary. Although

* From Messrs. Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thos. Lane, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, and J. Graham, to Mr. Edward Baber, dated Fort William, the 28th April 1772.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 3rd September 1772.

‡ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 4th October 1772.

§ No account is found among the records.

molungees were leaving the districts for want of money. It was customary to make the advances in the Midnapore districts at an earlier period than in other parts, owing to the necessity the contractors were under of making their advances to the molungees to prevent their going into the Mahratta territories.

In April 1773* Mr. Robert Reid had been appointed agent to receive the salt on account of the Company from the zemindars of the district, for which service he was to receive an allowance of Rs. 300 per mensem in lieu of all other charges. From a later part† of the records, however, it is seen that he used to get besides batta at 16 per cent. of his allowances. Mr. Reid was apparently the first salt agent appointed for the manufacture of salt in Midnapore or adjacent districts.

In December 1773‡ the Resident was informed by the Superintendent of Khalsa, Mr. Vansittart, that Madan Gopal having been appointed to the charge of the districts of Hijli, Mysadul, &c., should he have occasion to apply for the Resident's assistance to prevent salt from being clandestinely conveyed away from those parts, or in any other respect to enable him to execute with success the trust which had been committed to him, the Resident was to grant it to him.

In 1774§ it appears that salt used to be kept in heaps covered by mats, and the erection of golahs was suggested. Finally Rs. 4,600 were allowed the salt agent for erecting golahs for 1,40,000 maunds of salt.||

In April 1774¶ Government, in the Revenue Department, ordered that the salt remaining in the golahs should be weighed off and ascertained, in order that the accounts might be rendered perfect and prevented from blending in any shape with those of the new year. When weighed it was again to be deposited in golahs belonging to the contractors, to whom an allowance of one rupee per 100 maunds per mensem was to be made for golah hire, and the purchasers were to be charged with one rupee per 100 maunds per annum for golah hire, and one rupee for servants' wages and wastage, and were also to be at the risk of inundation and other accidents.

* From Messrs. Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thos. Lane, J. Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Edward Baber, dated Fort William, the 13th April 1773.

† Copy of the Auditor's remarks on the Midnapore accounts, being enclosure to a letter from Messrs. Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, Geo. Vansittart, and N. Grueber, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 15th April 1774.

‡ From George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 2nd December 1773.

§ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, George Vansittart, and W. Lambert, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 11th January 1774.

|| From Warren Hastings, A. Champion, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and Geo. Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 1st February 1774.

¶ From Messrs. Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, Geo. Vansittart, and N. Grueber, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, dated Fort William, the 12th April 1774.

Circular, Revenue Department.

CHAPTER IX.

EXCHANGE, CURRENCY, AND MINT, &c.

Period 1764—74.

No account of the Company's earliest connection with the district would be complete that did not attempt to show the utterly debased coinage of the day, the great inconvenience that always, and absolute loss that sometimes, attended commercial transactions, and the means adopted by the Government to obviate, or at least alleviate, these evils.

It was stated* in November 1864 that short-weight rupees were in circulation, to stop which 30,000 new Arcot rupees were required to be sent to the Midnapore factory. In February 1765† Mr. Watts promised to keep the accounts according to the method pointed out, by which the revenue charges and collections were kept separate from the commercial transactions. But he said, "I am at a loss what batta to add to the Alla Siccas to reduce them to current rupees; but if your Honor, &c., will send me a report what the following species turn out in your mint, with the charges of coinage deducted, a batta may be fixed to correspond pretty nearly with the books of the presidency:—

100	Sicca weight of Baginnis.
100	ditto of Bazee Ruckum.
100	ditto of Gia Sauls.

"The following is an account of the sirf charged to the different species of rupees to make them Alla Siccas:—

100	Sicca weight of Sicca	...	...	Rs. 6·4	percent.
100	ditto of 4 San	...	...	" 7·13	"
100	ditto of Sonat	...	...	" 9·6	"
100	ditto of Bagenniss	...	...	" 9·14	"
100	ditto of Gia Sauls	...	...	" 9·14	"
100	ditto of Bazee Ruckum	...	...	" 9·14	"

"Exclusive of this additional sirf, there is a deduction of batta on the two last articles to bring them to sicca fineness, viz.—

On Bazee Ruckum	...	12·8	per cent.
On Giasauls	...	6·4	" "

Mr. Watts further explained that though a batta were fixed on the Alla Sicca, yet there would always be some loss in proportion to the different species that might be received. However, this might easily be adjusted by a separate account being sent annually with the books of the different species of rupees received and disbursed.

There were current at this time besides other descriptions, the following three kinds of rupees, Siccas, 5 Sans, and also some called 4 Sans and Sanwadts (Sonats).‡

* From Hugh Watts to the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, President and Governor, &c., of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 22nd November, 1764.

† From Hugh Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 5th February 1765.

‡ From Hugh Watts to Mr. Francis Robertson, Pay Master to the Detachment under Major Champion, dated Midnapore, the 1st March 1765.

In reply to his address Mr. Watts was advised in the following terms:—"You will perceive the impossibility of stating the assay and mint produce of Gear Saul, Bazee Ruckum, and Bagennis rupees as required by Mr. Watts from the following explanation of those terms* :—

"Gear Sauls consist of Patana and counterfeit Arcot rupees greatly debased, but in no fixed or certain degree; accordingly it scarcely ever happens that two parcels shall agree in the assay, and of consequence the produce must be various.

"Bazee Ruckums are a mixture of Baranees, Lucknow, Arcot, and other rupees, all short weight, the standard of which rupees being widely different, the produce will depend on the proportions of each in the mixture.

"Bagennis rupees are also a mixture composed of Bombay, Patna, Dacca, and Muxadabad rupees, and likewise of French and English Arcots, all short weight, the produce of which must be uncertain for the reason assigned above.

"These are the mixed parcels which in the mint we call *paunch mail*, from their being supposed to contain five different species of rupees, and which it was customary to value 3 per cent. better than Arcots, although I have known them rise to 4 and sink to 1, 1½, or 2, only finer than Arcots.†

In March, Mr. Watts sent to Fort William 100 Sicca weight of Gaya Sal, 100 Sicca weight of Baze Rakam, and 100 Sicca weight of Bajins rupees, and he made the following request:—

"I‡ am to request you will send me reports of the alloy and coinage in Arcot rupees by which we shall be able to fix pretty exact batta between them and current.

* From Alexander Campbell, Esq., Mint Master, to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., of the Council, dated Calcutta, the 24th February 1765.

† From the records of a later year is obtained the following description of Nakra Bajins rupees:—

"These Nokra Bijinis rupees are so called in allusion to their relation to Arcots—*Nokra* meaning a deficiency in standard weight, and *Bijinis* an equality of standard fineness to the Moorshedabad Arcot rupees. In the class of Nokra Bijinis rupees are included the Arcots of Calcutta, Moorshedabad, Madras, and Pondicherry, the Patna and Dacca Souahs, the rupees of Bombay and Surat, the Agra and Charvary rupees, although these last are esteemed of equal fineness to the Siccas."

"Whatever species of rupees has from one pice to one anna in the rupee of more alloy than the Moorshedabad Arcot are classed under the name of Bazee Ruckum, and such as have from one to two annas alloy are styled Gur Sauls. The troops here are never paid in the Bazee Ruckum or Gur Saul specie, but in the Nokra Bijinis; and as these are frequently deficient in weight, before they are issued they are put into the scales and made equal to Sicca weight, and for every hundred Sicca weight is added a batta of 10.12.3. At the same rate and value they are received in the collections, they are issued in the disbursements, and the rupee now (and all along) both in receipts and disbursements, stands rated at the same batta as it did in the year 1766, when Mr. Graham first settled the batta.

"As the Nokra Bijinis rupees are the principal currency of these districts, I should suppose them the fittest and most desirable, as going the greatest way in expenditures here, and I can conceive no loss can accrue to the troops, unless such as hoard or want to remit to their families in other parts of Bengal where Siccas may answer better."

* * * The troops here have for years been paid in the mode they now are, and I can really see no cause for the representations made to the Board of the heavy loss sustained by the badness of the rupees issued for the pay of the troops."

‡ From Hugh Watts to the Hon'ble John Spencer, President and Governor, &c., of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 9th March 1765.

" I recommend the coining species into Arcot rupees, as I imagine the loss arising from extracting the alloy to make them equal to Sicca standard may be saved."

In December 1765* the following information and orders were transmitted to Midnapore:—

" We are to advise you that Sicca rupees of the sixth and seventh years of His present Majesty's reign have been lately coined and issued from the Nabob's and the Hon'ble Company's mints, but as they have both been circulated nearly at the same time, we have determined, in order to prevent the inconveniences and difficulties which would ensue from falling the batta of the six San Siccas in the usual manner immediately to 13 per cent., to keep them at 15 per cent. till the 1st of March next, and from that time at 14 per cent. till the 1st of June, after which they will pass current at 13 per cent., and the Sicca rupees of the fifth year, which are now at 13 per cent., will at the same time fall to Sonnauts, and pass at 11 per cent. batta."

In 1766 the Select Committee established† the following batta of rupees for the receipt of all the collections in the district to be made public in every cutcherry. Every oppression of the zemindars on the ryots was to be removed:—

7 San or Siccas	100 @	6-4 per cent.	discount Alla	...Rs. 93-12
6 ditto ditto	@	7-4 ditto	ditto	... ,, 92-12
5 ditto ditto	@	7-13 ditto	ditto	... ,, 92-3
Sonats	... @	9-6 ditto	ditto	... ,, 90-10
Nakra Rupees, Sicca weight	9-14	ditto	ditto	... ,, 90-2

Heretofore an imaginary batta of 22 per cent. was made use of to convert the Alla siccas into current rupees;‡ but the Government said§:—" The general estimation of the Alla siccas to the coins of the country, and the value of such coin compared with the current rupee, we find bring the exchange between the Alla siccas and the current to about 22 per cent. You are therefore to look upon the Alla Sicca mentioned in each teshkees to be 22 per cent. superior to the current rupee of Calcutta, and establish the batta at that rate."

The Resident in February 1868 reported|| that the greatest part of the collections (for the Resident, &c.,) was in Nakra rupees—that is to say, in rupees of various sorts, differing both in weight and alloy. "Of these," he wrote, "no particular account is procurable, and therefore the exact value cannot be ascertained. All the information I can give on the subject is that 1,000 Nokra rupees are usually reckoned in the Jellalore province to be worth eighty-five Dussmassa rupees or Arcot, and in the Midnapore province to be worth eighty-seven and a half."

* From Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, W. Tenier, John Carnac, H. Verelst, and H. Watts, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th December 1765.

† From H. Verelst to Mr. John Graham at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 17th March 1766.

‡ From the Resident to Harry Verelst, Esq., &c., Gentlemen of Council at Fort William, dated Birkul, the 19th April 1766.

§ W. B. Sumner, H. Watts, Claud Russell, W. Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd June 1766.

|| From the Resident to Charles Floyer, Esq., Secretary to the Select Committee, dated Midnapore, the 13th February 1768.

It appears* that silver was very scarce in Calcutta in this year, and yet remittance of money to Calcutta by bills seemed most for the Company's interest, as the receipts turned out 2 or 3 per cent. less than the invoices : for instance—

	C. Rs.	A P.		Rs.	A. P.
Invoice the 1st ...	1,11,840	1 3,	credited in Calcutta ...	1,08,196	13 9
Invoice the 2nd „ ...	1,11,774	1 6	ditto ...	1,09,510	4 6
Invoice the 3rd „ ...	56,110	3 6	ditto ...	54,675	5 6
	<u>2,79,724</u>	<u>6 0</u>		<u>2,72,382</u>	<u>7 9</u>

By June of the next year, 1769,† matters had come to such a pass that the prevailing and increasing scarcity of specie, and the many difficulties and distresses the merchants laboured under from this inconvenience, having been strongly represented to the Government, and its assistance to relieve them having been earnestly requested, the Government were induced to propose to the Nabob and his ministers the establishment of a gold currency. They acquiesced in the proposals, and established a currency on such a plan as would relieve the distresses complained of and prevent the fatal consequences that seemed to threaten the country in general from this ruinous evil. Accordingly an advertisement was published, as the Government said, “in order to carry this plan into execution within our jurisdiction,” and the same was ordered to be made public at each Residency. The advertisement ran as follows :—

“Whereas the prevailing and increasing scarcity of specie hath been greatly complained of, and the many difficulties and distresses the merchants hath laboured under from this inconvenience hath been represented to the Hon’ble the President and Council, and their assistance for a relief from this ruinous evil been earnestly requested, they have been pleased, in order to obtain redress for this grievance, and to remedy this evil, fully and particularly to set forth to the Nabob and his ministers the distressed situation of this settlement and the country in general.

“In consequence of which representation His Excellency hath thought proper to establish throughout these provinces a gold currency on the following plan and regulations :—“That a gold mohur be struck of the fineness of the ancient Delhi mohur coined in the first ten years of the reign of Mahomed Shah, of the standard of Carats 23 grs. 3½, but to weigh seventeen annas Sicca or 17 dwt. 23½ grs. troy, which shall be issued and received in all public and private disbursements and receipts whatever at 16 Sicca Rs. each Mohur, this standard being found to be the most just and equitable proportional value between gold and silver; that for convenience and despatch of business this coin shall be issued with subdivisions of halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths, each of which are to bear the same proportional value as the mohur. And that all gold delivered into the mint be coined in the

* From the Resident to Richard Becher, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 19th July 1768.

† From H. Verelst, John Cartier, J. Alexander, and Charles Floyer, to Mr. George Vansittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Port William, the 17th June 1769.

following proportions :—Supposing one hundred of mohurs, a number not exceeding—

“ 25 Pgs. ...		... 25 in whole mohurs :—	
“ Halves	18 „ ...	... 36	
Quarters	18 „ ...	... 72	
Eighths	18 „ ...	... 144	
Sixteenths	21 „ ...	... 336	
Mohurs	100 „ ...	... 613	

“ But if any person or persons be discovered in attempting to make a variation in the established value of the mohur and its subdivisions, or detected in clipping or melting it down, or obstructing the currency thereof by refusing to accept it in payment, he or they shall be punished with the utmost severity. And as the scarcity of silver brought on the inconveniences which the new coinage is intended to remedy, the Nabob has thought proper to prohibit the exportation of it from these provinces in consequence of orders he has received from His Majesty the King of Delhi for that purpose.

“ In consequence of the establishment of the gold currency, the collection of the Honorable Company’s lands and all payments to their treasury will be received indiscriminately in gold or silver, and a tender of payment in all money transactions, both public and private, shall be equally valid in the new gold currency as in any specie of the silver rupee.

“ As it is hoped many conveniences will result to merchants and the public in general from the foregoing plan, the Honorable the President and Council direct that it shall take place within their jurisdiction from this day, and that the Mint Master shall not refuse to receive any gold whatever for assay in coinage, and that he shall, when applied to by any merchant or others, direct to be made the assay of any gold brought to him for that purpose, and every quantity assayed shall have the seal of the Mint Master or Assay Master fixed upon it ; and a certificate shall likewise be given under the hand of the Assay Master specifying the assay, that the proprietor of such gold may know at all times its real value, and have it in his option to coin it or not. And for the encouragement and relief of the merchant who shall have gold for coinage, the Honorable the President and Council have abolished in their mints all duties on the gold coinage except one per cent. to defray the expenses of it to the Company.

“ Notice is therefore hereby given that any person or persons residing under the protection of the British flag, who shall in any respect deviate from the aforementioned regulations and restrictions, if natives, they will be subjected to the laws of the country for such offences ; if Europeans, they will immediately forfeit the Company’s protection, and be sent to England by the first opportunity.

“ By order of the Honorable the President and Council.”

In July Mr. Vansittart complained* that the Company would suffer loss if he continued to receive the 8th and 9th Sans at 13 and

* From George Vansittart, Esq., to James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General,—dated Midnapore, the 11th July 1769.

16 per cent. after it was ordered that the batta on Sicca Rs. was to fall. The batta* actually fell from the 1st June 1769. Again in August 1770† the continuing to take the 10 San Siccas at 16 per cent., it was said, would prove a loss to the Company; but previous to this, in April 1770, the Government were forced to change their policy from sheer inability to conduct currency operations under the existing system. Mr. John Peiarce, the provisional Resident at Midnapore, was directed to make his remittances as much as possible in specie, as the scarcity of money made it difficult to recover payment of private bills of exchange.‡

The following circular of the Revenue Department was promulgated in 1772§:—"We desire you will observe it as a standing order that you do in future remit your collections to us in the same species of rupees as you receive them from the farmers, and that every remittance be accompanied with a particular invoice specifying each kind of rupee and the rate of batta it was received at. You will likewise keep a vakeel at the khalsa, and direct him to transmit an account of receipts for all your remittances agreeable to the amount they may turn out in Sicca rupees, by which receipts alone you are to debit the khalsa, and you are not to complete your treasury accounts till these credits are ascertained." In February 1773|| the Resident wrote:—"The collections have always been remitted to the presidency in the specie they were received from the zemindars. * * * Before the residency of Mr. Graham an imaginary batta of 22 per cent. was made use of to convert the Alla Siccas into current rupees. But as that calculation was found frequently to produce a false amount of current rupees, when compared with the Company's established batta on the different species, he adopted a method that was approved by the then Select Committee, fixing the batta by which the rupee was actually received and converted into Alla Siccas and Calcutta currency, as follows:—Eleven San Siccas 100 batta 6-4-0, Alla Siccas 93-12; 10 San Siccas 100, batta 7-13; Alla Siccas 92-3; Sonnant 100, batta 9-6; Alla Siccas 90-10; Nocra Biginis (or short weights, to make full weight of Alla Siccas,) 100, batta 9-14; Alla Siccas 90-2. The short weights are divided into three classes, viz. Nocra Biginis, Gursals, Bazee Ruckum. These different species of rupees are all weighed, and an equal deduction made for the deficiency of value between them and the standard Sicca rupee. Then there is a deduction made of Rs. 9-14 per cent. according to Mr. Graham's regulation to bring them into Alla Siccas. The Nocra Biginis are rupees of various sorts, but of good silver, and therefore only receive a deduction for shortness of weight, as it is in weight only they are wanting. The Gyasauls are rupees coined by private persons not in the established mints, and

* From James Alexander, Esq., Collector-General, to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 10th July 1769.

† From the Resident (Mr. Edward Baber) to William Wynne, Esq., dated 18th August 1770.

‡ From Claud Russell, Collector-General, to John Peiarce, Provisional Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 24th April 1770.

§ From Warren Hastings, Robert Barker, and Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 4th December 1772.

|| From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 18th February 1773.

being a very base coin, they undergo another deduction besides that for deficiency of weight. This deduction or batta is 12-8 per 100. The Bazee Ruckum are various sorts of rupees deficient both in weight and in fineness, but not so base as the Gyasauls. However, on account of their baseness, they also undergo another deduction besides that of deficiency of weight, which is 6-14 per cent. It is not in my power to ascertain the bazar or current batta. There are not any shroffs of sufficient property in the province to change more than a small sum; and if any person wants to change Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,000, he is obliged to get it done at some place in the Bengal districts." In May 1773* the Resident wrote,—“Gursaul rupees of every kind have from time immemorial bore a discount in this province of 12-8 per cent. on account of the serf, besides the usual allowance for batta. Every species of rupees, when short of weight, become Nocra Biginis, 97-8 Sicca weight of which are reckoned 100 Dummussa rupees. Bazee Ruckums are of four kinds—Viziery, Gunzey, Pattolia, Pattania. They bear a discount of 6-4 per cent. on account of the serf, after which they are considered as Nocra Biginis.”

In April 1773† a general bank for the province of Bengal was established under Government patronage. The object of the institution, and the system of its operation, will be best understood from the following circular letter and regulations which it has been deemed expedient to copy *in extenso* :—“We have for some time past had under our deliberation the scheme of establishing a general bank in Bengal, and being persuaded that the measure will prove of the greatest utility and convenience not only to the Company in drawing the receipts of their revenues from the out districts to the presidency, but also to private merchants in making their advances to the aurungs, and otherwise in facilitating and rendering secure the course and circulation of their trade, we have determined to adopt it. You will therefore receive herewith a copy of our regulations, and of the tables of batta and exchange, to all which we enjoin your strictest attention and conformity.

“The persons who have been chosen managers of the bank are Baboo Huzzoory Mull and Ray Doleb, and their names as here expressed are the firm of their house. When they depute an agent to your station, you will receive due advice of it, and we require and expect that you afford them protection and support and all reasonable assistance, not only in the beginning towards fixing and opening their house or factory, but also at every future period in carrying on their business.

“You will observe from the table of rates that no batta whatever is chargeable on Siccaes, and to this circumstance we think it proper to direct your particular attention, as we are invariably determined to support the regulations which were adopted in 1771 respecting the coinage, and to enforce the currency of the Sicca rupee,

* From Samuel Lewis, Esq., to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue,—dated Midnapore, the 25th May 1773.

† From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, F. Graham, W. Lambert, George Vausittart, to Edward Baber, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 23rd April 1773.

beginning with those of the 11th Sun, free from batta, discount, or deductions of any kind.

"In many of the districts a collection is made under the heads of wuzun and kifayet-kum-wuzun. The regulations of the bank are not meant to affect this collection, which is in fact an article of revenue which the zemindars and farmers engage to pay along with their mal-goozaree, and either is or ought to be consolidated with it. And in general to prevent misconceptions of our present orders, we think it necessary to declare that the objects of the bank are to regulate the zemindars' and farmers' payments with the sudder, and the Collectors' payments with the agent of the bank according to the tables, but not to make any alteration in the ryots' payments to zemindars and farmers.

"Neither are the present regulations intended to effect the privilege, already granted to several of the zemindars and farmers, of paying their rents in Calcutta, unless upon their application it should hereafter be withdrawn, in which case you will be duly advised.

"Should there be any species of rupees not mentioned in the table current in your district, we desire you will subjoin them, and adjust the batta with the agent of the bank on the most equitable footing, transmitting us advice thereof for our confirmation.

"From this order, however, we except the rupees called Wusulee and Dunsook, the receipt of which have long been prohibited at the public treasury.

"Rates of exchange agreed to be allowed the Bank for making the remittances from the different districts, calculated according to the best information obtainable of the expense and risk, and allowing for the charge of the agents of the Bank in the districts.

"Hooghly ...	2 days' journey from Calcutta,	at 2 annas per day, is	$\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.
Nuddea ...	4 ditto	ditto	ditto ... $\frac{1}{2}$ " "
Jessore ...	5 ditto	ditto	ditto ... $\frac{5}{8}$ " "
Burdwan ...	6 ditto	ditto	ditto ... $\frac{3}{4}$ " "
Midnapore ...	8 ditto	ditto	ditto ... 1 " "
Beerbhoom ...	10 ditto	ditto	ditto ... $\frac{1}{4}$ " "
Bishnupur ...	12 ditto	ditto	ditto ... $\frac{1}{2}$ " "
Moorsshedabad ...	16 ditto	ditto	ditto ... 2 " "
Pachet ...	18 ditto	ditto	ditto ... 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " "
Dacca ...			
Rajmehal ...			
Dinagepore ...			
Purneah ...			
Rungpore ...			
Boglepore ...			

"Regulations for a general Bank for the province of Bengal.

1st.—"That a principal house or bank, under the conduct of one or more responsible shroffs, be established at the presidency, through which all the remittances of the revenues shall be made from the districts of the province, and an inferior house under the charge of one or more gomastahs, dependant on the principal in each district or collectorship.

2nd.—"That the Collectors shall not exchange the rupees which they receive in payment of their collections, but shall pay them to the shroffs or gomastahs of the houses established in their districts in the same specie in which they were received, taking their bills on the capital

house at the presidency for the amount payable in Sicca rupees at the fixed and ancient batta of the *khazana aumera*, or Royal treasury. That the Collectors shall receive the payments from the farmers at these rates of batta, and that tables thereof shall be affixed in every cutcherry of the districts for the information of the farmers.

3rd.—“That a table of *hoondian* or commission of exchange shall be formed and agreed upon with the shroffs or managers of the bank, in which the commission or percentage on their bills shall be ascertained according to the distance, risk, and charge of transporting the sums in specie, if necessary, to the presidency, or from place to place, or to the facility of remitting the sums by bills in the districts.

4th.—“That for facilitating the means of exchange and preventing the loss which the country must sustain in the currency and circulation of its specie by the continual transportation of the rents in money to the presidency and to the city of Moorshedabad, in which a large share of the collections still centre for the payment of the Nabob's stipends, the charges of the brigade stationed at Berhampore, and the provision of the Cossim Bazar investment, all merchants and others who may have dealings in the country shall have liberty to make the remittances to the aurgs through the channel of the said bank; and to that end tables of the rates of *hoondian* which the merchants shall pay for bills shall be affixed at each cutcherry of the districts, and in the most public places of the presidency and Moorshedabad; that a fixed time for payment of the bills after sight shall be decreed by Government and inserted in the bills, which shall be punctually and sacredly adhered to; that the bills shall always be drawn payable in the same species which shall be paid into the bank, and no percentage claimed besides the *hoondian*.”

In June 1773 Ram Lochan was appointed* the agent for the general bank in Midnapore, and the Government repeated their expectations that Mr. Lewis would afford him protection and support, and all reasonable assistance, as well in the beginning towards fixing and opening his house or factory, as at every future period in carrying on his business.

In December 1773 certain new regulations for facilitating the business of the bank were framed† on the occasion of the bank officials preferring certain complaints to the Government in the Revenue Department. The Collector, Mr. Samuel Lewis, was required to pay most implicit obedience to the new regulations, and he was warned that any attempt to counteract or obstruct the business of the bank would be noticed with the severest displeasure. The complaints were embodied in the following representations :—

Representations of the Managers of the Bank.

1st.—“Gomastahs have, according to orders, been sent into the districts with instructions to receive the money of the collections in the species in which they are paid by the farmers, and, deducting the

* From W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 4th June 1773.

† From Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd December 1773.

established allowances to the zemindars and other expenses, to grant bills for the balance payable at the presidency. This regulation has not been observed; the payments are not made to our house as received from the mofussil, but in Sicca at the time that bills are required. At Dinagapore in particular another house has been established under the firm of Durmehund, Kunumhund, who carry on a trade in interest and *pass pauts* in payment of the revenue.

2nd.—“It has always been a custom among the shroffs to receive a fee (called *pautwan*) upon payments made to them in Siccas, on which they receive no other emolument from *batta* or exchange, but merely pass the money through their house to the public treasury. The chief part of the payments in Calcutta are of this sort; but we have not hitherto exacted a *pautwan*, although many farmers have offered to pay it, choosing to be previously furnished with your orders. The custom formerly was half per cent.; we now wait your orders.

3rd.—“The Government have positively forbid the levying of *batta* upon *loot*, and *mullet* Sicca rupees that are much defaced will not pass without *batta*. On this we request your final orders, which we shall faithfully observe.

4th.—“There are various rates of coinage in the mint of Moorsheadabad:—

One rate for the money of the Sircar.

One rate for Juggut Sett.

One rate for other merchants.

Should we be desirous of coining money at that mint, we desire to know at what rate of duty and charges we are to pay.

5th.—“At some places the *gomashtas* are required to attend in person at the cutcherry and then write their bills. This discredits the bank. Let it be ordered that the agent shall write the bills at the house of the bank, and send them from thence to the Collector.”

The new regulations were these:—

“Having* maturely considered the representations of the managers of the bank, resolved that the following additional regulations be now established for the better conducting of that branch:—

1st.—“That all payments shall be made at the provincial councils and collectorships in the following manner:—As the *chalans* arrive from the mofussil the farmers shall carry them to the cutcherry. The provincial council or collector shall then send a *peon* with the farmer or his *vakeels* to pay the amount into the bank, who shall return the succeeding day with a *paut* for the same, which shall be carried to credit. These *pauts* shall, at the close of each kist, be adjusted between the bank and the provincial council or collector, and a bill granted by the former for the amount upon Moorsheadabad or the presidency, after deducting zemindars’ allowances and the expenses of the public establishments.

“The provincial council should in like manner regulate the payment of the rents at their subordinate districts where the collections

* Extract of the Proceedings of the Council of Revenue, held at Fort William, the 24th December 1773, being the enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and G. Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 24th December 1773.

are made by the naibs, and instruct the managers of the bank where they are to station agents for that purpose. The peons employed on this service to be the monthly servants of the cutcherry, and to be positively prohibited from receiving any fee or reward from the farmers.

2nd.—“That the zemindars’ allowances shall remain, as before directed, a deposit in the bank for the orders of the President and Council, and that the amount of the established expense shall be supplied by the bank in any species of rupees the provincial council or collector shall require: provided such species has been received by the bank in the payments from the farmers.

3rd.—“That the advances required for the Company’s investment, which are to be made in consequence of orders to the provincial councils or collectors, shall in like manner be supplied in any species of rupees demanded, provided such species has been received by the bank in the payment from the farmers, but that the advances for the payment of the troops shall be made in Siccas.

4th.—“That no *hoondian* shall be allowed by the provincial council or collectors, or charged by the bank on the sums furnished for the public expenses, or the investment advances, but that such charge shall be solely confined to the remittances to the presidency and Moorsshedabad; and in these the Board deem it unnecessary to make any distinction in the rate of *hoondian* for the reasons already recorded in Consultation, the 23rd April.

5th.—“That should the farmers plead their inability to pay their rents without the aid of a merchant or shroff, and as they are restricted by the first regulation to the *pauts* of the bank, the managers of the bank will engage to assist, in this respect, such as are men of character at the interest of two per cent. per month, excepting in Calcutta, where they are to take no more than the customary rate of one per cent. The two per cent. allowed in other places where they must provide funds to answer their demand to supply the deficient circulation of money, the Board deem equitable and equivalent to their risk.

6th.—“That as by this mode of receiving the rents the bank will in fact become the *kuzzanchees* or treasurers of the several districts, the provincial councils and collectors shall immediately regulate their treasury offices to a proper standard, retaining only such servants as are necessary for stating the accounts, which are still to be kept in the usual manner.

7th.—“That the bank shall be at liberty to receive the customary allowance of *pautwan* from such farmers as are voluntarily disposed to pay it, in return for the support of credit, or facility in discharging their revenues, which they derive from their intercourse with the bank, but that they shall not be authorized to exact such dues against the free will of the farmers.

8th.—“That the orders prohibiting the collections of batta upon *loot* and *mullet* Siccas shall be invariably adhered to. When rupees are much defaced and will not pass without batta, the managers of the bank shall produce samples of them to the Board, who will determine thereupon, and give directions for their recoinage, if they shall be judged unfit to continue in circulation.

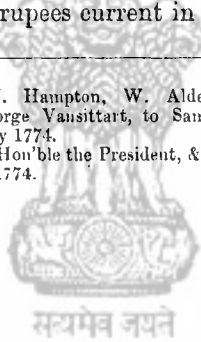
9th.—“That when the managers of the bank are desirous of coining money in the mint of Moorsheadabad, they shall be permitted to do it at the rates which were formerly paid by the house of Juggut Sett.

10th.—“That upon adjusting the *pauts* of each kist an account current shall be interchanged between the bank and the provincial council, collector, or naib, and the bank shall send from their house a bill for the sum which is to be remitted, but their agent shall not be required to attend the cutcherry in person for this purpose.”

In February 1774* the following order was passed:—“The Bazeo Ruckums, Nockra Biginnis, and Gursaul rupees, must for the present be received by the agents of the bank on the batta which was before customary in the Midnapore district; and if application should be hereafter made to us by the agents of the bank, we will take the subject into consideration.” This was in consequence of the Collector having reported† that many complaints had been made to him by the rayats of the hardships they suffered from the valuation put by the agent of the bank on the rupees current in the district.

* From Warren Hastings, M. Hampton, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and George Vansittart, to Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 1st February 1774.

† From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 21st January 1774.



CHAPTER X.

MISCELLANEA.

Period 1764—1774.

IN the foregoing chapters an attempt has been made to give some account of the geographical limits of the Midnapore province in the last century ; of the historical events, the petty struggles for extension of dominion, and the conquests of the Company in relation to the district during the early period of its rule in India ; of the revenue settlements and fiscal administration ; of the Company's commercial transactions ; of its salt manufacture and salt trade ; and of the currency and coinage. In this chapter it is not intended that any particular method should be followed in the treatment of the subjects discussed. Such an intention, even if formed at the outset, could not be consistently sustained, for the subjects now brought to the reader's notice possess a boundless degree of diversity : matters that relate to pure history are handled side by side with the social topics of the day, the mode and style of the correspondence amongst officials are noticed in the same breath, with an explanation of the demeanour considered becoming by the Company in its servants. Statistical memoranda are brought face to face with transfers of officials, and so on. It is possible that, owing to such treatment, this chapter will possess as lively an interest for the general reader as the most engrossing of those that have gone before. Little or no preparatory reading or experience is required to render intelligible what is now written ; and so not only officials possessing a hold on the district, but people who have never visited, nor are ever likely to visit Midnapore, will find something to amuse, if not to instruct.

In the year 1764* the Nabob, in whose favour the Company had declared, had engaged to make good the losses of the merchants living under the Company's protection, so far as the accounts should be passed and approved by the Governor and Council. Accordingly there was the following advertisement† issued by order of the Hon'ble the President and Council of Fort William :—

“All Company's servants and other merchants residing under the Company's protection are hereby required to deliver in to the Hon'ble the President and Council estimates of the losses they have sustained by the late troubles in the country in goods or money, specifying the prime cost and charges of what has been lost in goods. The Hon'ble the President and Council will form themselves into a committee to receive

* Copy of proceedings of the Committee of Restitution, held the 16th March 1764, being the enclosure to a letter from W. Majendie, Secretary, to Mr. Auselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, Committee of Restitution, the 16th March 1764.

† Advertisement by order of the Hon'ble the President and Council of Fort William, 2nd January 1764.

(Sd.) J. GRAHAM.
Secretary.

and inspect such estimates, and will meet for the first time on Friday, the 20th of this month of January. And after that they will continue to meet every Friday until the end of the month of April, by which time it is expected that all accounts will be delivered in."

The Committee formed in consequence, and called the Committee of Restitution,* ordered a price-current to be drawn up under the provisions of the IVth Regulation, a copy of which was to be sent to Mr. Beaumont for the further information of those who might have claims upon the fund. From this price current, by which all claims for restitution were adjusted, it is seen that tea was valued at Rs. 8 per catty first sort, Rs. 4 second sort, Re. 1-8 third sort; tobacco at Rs. 10 per maund; salt, Persian, at Rs. 150 per 100 maunds; Madras, Rs. 100 per 100 maunds; Sindia, Rs. 200 per 100 maunds; Hijli, Rs. 150 per 100 maunds; sugarcandy, Rs. 16 per maund; cotton, Rs. 24 per maund. Subsequently, with reference to the various claims that were preferred, the Governor and Council were obliged to observe†,—"When we proposed to the Nabob that such a stipulation should be made, we had no thoughts of requiring more than the restitution of the principal and interest, by no means intending to charge the Nabob with the expected profits, which in some cases will amount to 100 per cent. or more." The Nabob, it was said, had made the Company the judges, and they felt themselves bound to act with due consideration of his interests.

Later in the year the following proclamation was made:—

"FORT WILLIAM.

"Committee of Restitution, the 29th June 1764.

"Notice‡ is hereby given that the time for receiving claims for losses sustained during the late troubles is further prolonged to the end of the ensuing month, and that none will be afterwards admitted but for such losses as shall have been before noted to the Committee and referred by their orders to a further inquiry.

"By order of the Committee,

"W. MAJENDIE,

"Secretary."

At this time§ each battalion of sepoys consisted of ten companies, two whereof were grenadiers. In each company were one subadar, two jemadars (of whom one was colourman), three naiks, one drummer, and 60 sepoys. There was also an adjutant with the rank of jemadar, but he was to be a supernumerary, and to be stationed to no company. To the battalion there were five sircars, five watermen, one writer, one linguist, one head and two inferior armourers, three European officers,

* From W. Majendie, Secretary to the Committee of Restitution, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th February 1764.

† Copy of Proceedings of the Committee of Restitution held on the 16th March 1764, being the enclosure to a letter from Mr. Majendie, Secretary, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, Committee of Restitution, the 16th March 1764.

‡ Enclosure forwarded to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, with a letter from Henry Vansittart, John Spencer, Warren Hastings, H. Watts, Samuel Middleton, R. Leycester, and J. Burdett, dated Fort William, the 9th July 1764.

§ From Henry Vansittart to the Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th March 1764.

and five sergeants, one of whom was sergeant-major. The doctors were struck out because it had been proposed to have a European surgeon's mate for each battalion, but as some castes of sepoys would not take medicine from an European, it was thought that there would always be a necessity to have one or two black doctors.* The troops stationed in Midnapore were on the same footing as those stationed at other subordinate factories. On all occasions when they were ordered into quarters no batta was to be allowed the officers or men.

It is learnt from the records of 1764† that the Nabob was pleased to grant a subsidy to the British troops; that there occurred a mutiny in Behar in the army there, and that to pacify them the first dividend had to be given at once there. It was then decided that it should be given elsewhere also. Seven twenty-fifths of the rates were to be issued at once. This was the proportion that had already been received, and was ready to be divided. The whole subsidy amounted to Rs. 4,00,000, and the whole number of shares was calculated to be 10,000; therefore each share would come to Arcot Rs. 40. A commandant got ten shares, or Rs. 400; a subadar got eight shares, or Rs. 320; a jemadar got four shares, or Rs. 160; a havildar two shares, or Rs. 80; a naik got 1½ shares, or Rs. 60; a sepoy got one share, or Rs. 40. The amounts ordered to be disbursed immediately being seven-twenty-fifths of these sums respectively, were Rs. 110, Rs. 88, Rs. 44, Rs. 22, Rs. 16-8, and Rs. 11 respectively. The letter of the 1st March 1764, from which this information is obtained, is mutilated; but it can be fairly inferred from it that a bonus was given to European troops also, and seven-twentyfifths of their respective shares had arrived and were to be distributed. For a private seven-twenty-fifths of a share amounted to Rs. 37-15-1; a corporal got 1½ shares and a sergeant got two shares. In November 1764 Sicca Rs. 8,211-12, or current Rs. 9,525-10, the second dividend due to the sepoys stationed at Midnapore, were ordered to be disbursed;‡ and this donation was accordingly issued, but apparently only to those sepoys who had been in service from two to five years§.

The Resident was told|| in 1764 that it was inconvenient to send Arcot rupees, and that the military was to be paid in any other specie in which the revenue might be collected.

It may not be deemed out of place to mention here that certain objections were made by the Government in 1769 to the grant of batta to the sepoys belonging to the Midnapore factory on command in the western jungles. The pergunnah sepoys were to receive¶ their full pay

* From Henry Vansittart, J. Spencer, H. Watts, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leycester, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 28th June 1764.

† From Henry Vansittart, William Billers, Warren Hastings, Randolph Marriott, Samuel Middleton, and R. Leycester, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 1st March 1764.

‡ From Henry Vansittart, J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, J. Johnstone, Samuel Middleton, R. Leycester, and J. Burdett, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William the 6th November 1764.

§ From the Resident, to the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq., President and Governor, &c., Council, dated Midnapore, the 22nd November 1764.

|| From Henry Vansittart, J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, Warren Hastings, John Johnstone, Samuel Middleton, and R. Leycester, to Hugh Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 26th November 1761.

¶ From H. Verelst, John Cartier, Richard Smith, James Alexander, and Claud Russell, to George Vansittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 22nd August 1769.

without any deductions whatever. They were not to receive any batta, and the Company were to be at the expense of their clothing. The officers were to receive off reckonings until the first of September 1769, but from that time they were not to draw for any more. The Resident, however, recommended* that the batta should be continued to the sepoys belonging to the factory, because provisions were in general dear in the west of the district, and it was sometimes impossible for the sepoys while on that service to subsist without their batta, unless by contributions from the zemindars, which opened a door for many irregularities and unavoidably occasioned a loss in the revenue. It was urged also that the western jungles were very unhealthy, and this was an additional argument for granting the sepoys some indulgence. There was seldom more than one company on command to the westward, and the expense of granting them batta would amount scarcely to more than that of their clothing. The long standing and old services of the Midnapore battalion might be considered to plead in its behalf to prevent it from being put upon the same footing with those which had been lately raised expressly for the pergunnah service. It was eventually decided† that half batta should be allowed under the name of gratuity, and be drawn among the contingencies‡ for the sepoys who were engaged in “scrambling amongst the jungle hills,” but not for any of those who were at fixed stations. The sepoys were to regard the allowance as an indulgence, not as a matter of right; and it was not extended to the sepoys at Balarampur, Chhatna, Janpur, and Narsinghar, which were looked upon as a kind of fixed cantonments. It was only to be granted to those who would be stationed at Haldipukhar and Barahabhum.

In February 1770 Mr. Cartier wrote§ to Mr. Vansittart saying that as many of the Company's battalions were very deficient in their complement of men, and as the districts of Midnapore and Jellasore could furnish a number of good recruits, agents should be employed on the recruiting service, and a body of men raised with the greatest expedition.

Apparently,|| the Midnapore province was not a bad recruiting field—at least there was no difficulty in obtaining recruits, for rice was scarce, but it was a matter for complaint that the inhabitants of this part of the country were in general rather low in stature. Mr. Vansittart allowed any to be received on condition they were strong bodied men and were five feet four inches in height, the standard observed in the battalion stationed in Midnapore. Captain Forbes, who was at least one of the officers directed to assist in collecting recruits, got together between 600 and 800 men, and drew for, and received at various times sums, which amounted to C. Rs. 3,350, from the treasury.¶

* From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, President and Governor in Council, dated Midnapore, the 4th September 1769.

† From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 3rd January 1770.

‡ From the Resident to Claud Russell, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 3rd January 1770.

§ From the Resident to Captain Forbes, dated Midnapore, the 8th January 1770.

|| From John Cartier to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 25th February 1770.

¶ From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq., President and Governor of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 28th February 1770.

§ From the Resident to Richard Bawell, Esq., Military Paymaster-General, Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 10th August 1770.

As matter of a cognate character it may be stated that three hundred stand-of-arms were urgently required in the beginning of 1770,* for there were said to be not ten serviceable firelocks in garrison. There were six officers† in 1770 at Midnapore, Captain Forbes, Lieutenants Goodyar, Rooke, Nun, Burke, and Bateman, attached to the battalion of pergunnah sepoys. This number was two in excess of those for whom accommodation was available. An application was therefore made by Mr. Vansittart to Mr. Cartier for permission to build a bungalow or house for the residence of the two superfluous officers, if the whole number of six were to remain. It is not stated what the result of the application was.

There were a number of tom-toms attached to each company, and the trumpeters were reduced to one to each grenadier company.‡ It may be thought a fact interesting enough to be told that the average amount of the military disbursements in the Midnapore province at this time was Rs. 13,300 per mensem. Lieutenant Goodyar's batta for February and March amounted to Rs. 236, and the sepoys' gratuity for two months to Rs. 800.§

It was established|| as a standing rule to be observed at the subordinate factories that no servant of the Company, civil or military, or any other person whatever residing under their protection, should be permitted to correspond with the officers of the Government, or to pay them visits in person, without leave granted them by the Chief of the factory, who was alone to manage all transactions with the Government according to former orders issued from Calcutta.

From a letter¶ apparently from the Nabob to the Company, it is seen that daks had from of old been stationed from Choonakhali to Jellapore to bring news from those parts, and the zemindars, faujdars, and other officers of Burdwan and Midnapore, &c., were to supply the said daks with necessaries.

In September 1764** Mr. Parker Stabley was appointed assistant at the Midnapore factory in the room of Mr. Steers, deceased.

In November it was said†† that one of the military gentlemen understood surgery, and an indent was submitted for instruments, apparently for his use, "as the Europeans gave expression to frequent complaints."

In December 1764‡‡ an Assistant Engineer was wanted to "oversee" the building of the factory house, the materials for which were all ready.

* From the Resident to John Cartier, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 6th February 1770.

† From the Resident to the Hon'ble J. Cartier, President and Governor, &c., of the Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 6th January 1770.

‡ From the Resident to Richard Barwell, Esq., Military Paymaster-General at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 10th April 1770.

§ From J. Peiarce to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 26th April 1770.

|| From H. Vansittart, J. Spencer, W. Hastings, R. Marriott, H. Watts, S. Middleton, and R. Leicester, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 25th June 1764.

¶ Copy of a letter from the Nabob, dated Fort William, the 3rd September 1764, being an enclosure to a letter from T. Graham to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 3rd September 1764.

** From H. Vansittart, W. Hastings, S. Middleton, R. Leicester and John Burdett, to Mr. Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 3rd September 1764.

†† From the Resident to the Hon'ble H. Vansittart, President and Governor, &c., of the Council at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 22nd November 1764.

‡‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble J. Spencer, President and Governor of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 11th December 1764.

In March 1765* Mr. Hatley was allowed Rs. 100 (Arcot) for his way charges.

In April† Mr. Edward Fenwicke was appointed assistant at the Midnapore factory.

From a letter dated the 15th July 1764, but which ought to be 1765 apparently, it is seen that Mr. Watts was to join Mr. John Francis Lewis Durand at Balasore‡ without loss of time for the execution of his commission in restoring the French factory at Balasore to that gentleman, who had been appointed Commissary for receiving it. On the 22nd July 1765§ another Commissary, one Mr. Maxwell, on behalf of the English nation, was appointed (apparently because Mr. Watts|| could not conveniently leave his factory owing to press of work), and Mr. Watts, from Midnapore, advised Mr. Durand, at Balasore, that that gentleman would proceed by water in a day or two to Balasore.

Mr. Watts in 1765¶ reduced the monthly wages of coolies from Sicca Rs. 2-13 to 2 Sonat rupees per mensem; but as rice grew dearer he said he would be obliged at times to make them a small allowance on that account.

The** rains in 1765 were generally heavy and continued, but for about fifteen days in August they were incessant, so much so that the violent torrents from the hills caused the Subarnrekha and Kaasai rivers to overflow their banks in so extraordinary a manner that the oldest men did not remember to have seen. The country about Midnapore was laid under water, and most part of the August crop was destroyed, besides several tracts of cultivated land laid waste.

Wett are informed from the records of the years 1765-1766 that there were no accounts at the Midnapore factory relating to the fort and buildings "remaining there" of an older date than November 1763.

Messrs.‡‡ Hatley and Fenwicke were recalled to the presidency at the same time that Mr. Watts' appointment as Chief at Midnapore was cancelled, that is in the end of 1765.

In the year 1766 Clive, Carnac, Verelst, Sumner, Marriott, Russell, Watts, Aldersey, Kelsall, and others, with the occasional omission of a name or two, used to append their signatures conjointly to the letters to Mr. Graham, sometimes styling themselves "Your loving friends," and at other times "Your most obedient

* From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, and G. Gray, to H. Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 21st March 1765.

† From J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, J. Burdett, and G. Gray, to H. Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 22nd April 1765.

‡ From W. B. Sumner, C. S. Playdell, R. Leicester, and G. Gray, to H. Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 15th July 1764 (a mistake apparently for 1765).

§ From W. B. Sumner, S. Playdell, R. Leicester, J. Burdett, and G. Gray, to H. Watts, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 22nd July 1765.

|| From H. Watts to J. F. L. Durand, Esq., at Balasore, dated Midnapore, the 24th July 1765.

¶ From H. Watts to the Hon'ble J. Spencer, President and Governor, &c., of the Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1765.

** From the Resident to William B. Sumner, Esq., &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 21st August 1765.

†† From H. Watts to the Hon'ble Robert Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 18th November 1765.

‡‡ From Lord Clive, William B. Sumner, John Carnac, and R. Leicester, to Hugh Watts, Esq., dated Fort William, the 7th October 1765.

humble servants,"* or "Your most obedient servants." An individual writer generally subscribed himself "Your humble servant," or "Your most obedient servant," or "Your most obedient humble servant." It is not clear in what cases the subscription "Your loving friends" was preferred to the more modern style. But in the beginning of all letters ending with the former subscription, Mr. Graham's official designation of Resident at Midnapore is always noted. It is generally omitted in the case of letters having the latter subscription. It is presumed, though on very imperfect data, that where Mr. Graham was addressed purely with regard to a matter affecting the good government of the country, the subscription "Your loving friends" was adopted; where arrangements with regard to private trading or private business were discussed, the other styles were more frequently used. It is certain that both styles were in use at the same time.

Some† five years previous to the time Mr. Graham was stationed in Midnapore, he had been Resident at Burdwan, when he and Mr. Sumner settled the Burdwan province after a scene of great labour and application. The very advantageous revenue of Rs. 32,50,000 was settled, although it was only the first year of possession. However, with a desire to free the Company from all attendant expenses, and to realize the aforementioned sum to them as clear revenue, additional proposals had been made to the Burdwan Raja to defray the expenses of the Resident and servants, who might be employed on the part of the Company, as well as of Collectors, should they have been found necessary to send into the different pergunnahs. The Raja assented, and in this light the allowances made by him had been received both by Mr. Sumner and Mr. Graham, and the Company were through the whole course of the year put to no kind of expense. When this circumstance became known to the Company they said‡ :—"The making our servants dependent on the Rajah for their allowances is in itself a dishonour to, and quite inconsistent with, the nature of our service; nor can we look on it in any other light than depriving the Company of a great sum from their revenues, for if the Rajah had not paid this vast sum to our servants he might and ought to have paid so much addition to the annual revenue for his province." Therefore the payment so made since the transfer of the province to the Company was ordered to be refunded. Mr. Graham explained that the allowances in question were not made in the light of gratification on account of private expenses alone, as the Hon'ble Company thought when they ordered them to be retrenched. Mr. Graham had received§ for his share Rs. 7,400 in eight months, and he objected to the refund, because it had not exceeded the charge he was at. A considerable detachment had been kept at Burdwan several months, and all the officers belonging to it were invited in turn to a public table maintained by

* This subscription was comparatively rare.

† From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President, &c., Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Calcutta, the 3rd October 1766.

‡ Extract from the Hon'ble Company's general letter, dated the 24th December 1765, forwarded by covering letter to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th September 1766, signed Clive, John Carnac, and H. Verelst.

§ From the Resident to Alexander Campbell, Esq., Secretary to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 7th November 1766.

Mr. Graham. No part of the allowance had been converted to his own private emoluments. The Raja had paid Rs. 27,076,* out of which the allowance to the Commanding Officer and wages to banians had amounted to Rs. 14,076, and the pay to cutcherry servants and other expenses of the factory to Rs. 5,600.

It appears from the Burdwan cash accounts† that the Chief got Rs. 3,000 per mensem, the second Rs. 1,500, and the third Rs. 1,300, and the military officer Rs. 500, altogether Rs. 75,600 per annum. In lieu of these sums the Company decided that the Chief should receive Rs. 6,000, the second Rs. 1,500, and the third Rs. 1,000 for all charges and expenses whatever per annum. They said that "these are to be the future allowances to the servants who it may be found necessary to employ on that service. If any of the servants refuse to refund what we deem so unjustly obtained, we order you to dismiss them from our service, and they must be sent to England to answer for their conduct to us."

A magazine‡ was being built in January 1767 in the Midnapore fort at an estimated cost of Rs. 5,200.

When Mr. George Vansittart was appointed to the charge§ of the Midnapore residency, Mr. Graham went to Burdwan, in March 1767.¶ In the same month Mr. John Peiarce was appointed¶ an assistant at Midnapore. Early in the year also Mr. Claud Russell was appointed** Collector-General, apparently to perform the same duties as the late supervisor. When Lord Clive left town, on the 26th January 1767,†† for England, he was succeeded by Mr. Harry Verelst. Mr. Graham, the Resident of Midnapore, begged leave‡‡ to congratulate Mr. Verelst on his accession to the Government, and to offer his warmest wishes for the success and prosperity of the Hon'ble Company's affairs under his administration.

In May 1767§§ the grenadier companies of the pergunnah battalion of sepoys stationed at Midnapore were ordered up to the cantonments at Bankipore.

In December 1767||| Mr. Portsmouth was deputed to make a survey of the Midnapore province.

* From the Resident to Alexander Campbell, Esq., Secretary to the Select Committee, at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 7th November 1766.

† Enclosure forwarded with a letter from Clive, Carnac, and Verelst, to Mr. Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th September 1766.

‡ From the Resident to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President and Governor, and Gentlemen of Council at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 10th January 1767.

§ From H. Verelst, Richard Smith, Francis Sykes, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Alexander Campbell, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd February 1767.

¶ From John Graham to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 25th March 1767.

¶ From H. Verelst, Richard Smith, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, and Alexander Campbell, to Mr. John Graham, at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th March 1767.

** From H. Verelst, Richard Smith, Francis Sykes, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Alexander Campbell, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd February 1767.

†† From H. Verelst, R. Smith, Francis Sykes, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Alexander Campbell, to Mr. John Graham, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd February 1767.

‡‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, President and Governor, &c, of the Council at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 9th February 1767.

§§ From Harry Verelst to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Fort William, the 30th May 1767.

||| From Harry Verelst to Mr. G. Vansittart, dated Fort William, the 6th December 1767.

It may interest the reader to know that to all the gentlemen writers in the Company's service the following letter was addressed* :—
 " Gentlemen,—I am directed by the Hon'ble the President and Council to acquaint you that the undermentioned extracts from the proceedings of the Committee of Inspection are entirely approved of by them, and that they expect an implicit obedience be paid to the directions therein contained, viz.—

" 1st.—With respect to the servants necessary to be kept by a writer without a family, the committee are of opinion that he should be allowed two and a cook ; one for the immediate care of his house and charge of his effects, and another to attend him when he goes out, or to assist in the charge of his effects and house in case of sickness to the other.

" 2nd.—It is recommended that an order be issued that no writer shall be allowed to keep a horse without the express permission of the Governor, or be permitted either of himself or jointly with others to keep a garden-house.

" 3rd.—It is further recommended that the writers be enjoined to wear no other than plain clothes.

The Government in former days exercised their interference in a strange manner. Mr. Verelst wrote from Belvidere in November to the Resident, Mr. Vansittart, in the following terms.†

" Sir,—In consequence of some regulations which have been lately made by the zemindar for keeping the bearers at the presidency in due order, several sets of the Ooriah caste have left their masters within the last two or three days, upon which account I have to request that you will order out parties of sepoys to all the ghâts or passes that lead into the Cuttack province, with directions to take up every bearer who are (*sic*) travelling that way without the zemindar's permission : and when a considerable number shall have been laid hold of, you will please to send them hither under guard."

In May 1769‡ Mr. Vansittart was at the seaside at Birkul.

In 1769§ there were quarters for four officers only in Midnapore, because it was presumed that four officers were sufficient for the requirements of a pergunnah battalion. In the same year the Government ordered|| five companies of sepoys to march to the cantonments of Gyretty (Giridih).

On the 24th December 1769¶ Mr. Cartier succeeded Mr. Verelst as the head of the Government, Mr. Claud Russell succeeded Mr. Alexander as Collector-General** in the previous month, and was also Military Paymaster. Mr. Vansittart was relieved early in 1770††

* From Simeon Droy, Secretary, to all the Gentlemen Writers in the Company's Service, dated Fort William, the 9th November 1767.

† From H. Verelst to Mr. G. Vausittart, dated Belvidere, the 27th November 1767.

‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble the Governor and Council of Fort William, dated Birkul, the 9th May 1769.

§ From the Resident to John Cartier, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 16th December 1769.

|| From John Cartier, Claud Russell, and Charles Floyer, to Mr G. Vansittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd June 1769.

¶ From John Cartier, Claud Russell, Charles Floyer, H. Watt, and Joseph Jekyll, to Mr. G. Vansittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William the 25th December 1769.

** From James Alexander, Collector-General, to G. Vansittart, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 24th October 1769.

†† From Claud Russell, Collector-General, to Mr. John Peiarce, Provisional Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, 24th April 1770.

by Mr. Peiarce, who became Provisional Resident. Mr. Vansittart, however, reverted* to his post as Resident in May of the year, and was succeeded† in September by Mr. Baber.

The letter quoted below, addressed to the Resident, shows how eager for their personal aggrandizement were the servants of the Company, who were in other respects unquestionably honourable. For the whole tenor of his conduct would not lead the reader of these notes to suspect Mr. Fergusson, the conqueror of the jungle mehals, of having been wanting in any of the qualities that become the conscientious and zealous soldier-civilian. "If my remaining in the jungles another year should be certain, I should esteem it a favour if you would not grant perwannahs for cutting wood to *paji* black fellows, as if you, gentlemen, at Midnapore choose, or any others who may obtain your perwannahs for wood, you will be furnished by me at as reasonable a rate as the black fellows cut it; and it is only by something in this way, which perhaps you will be good enough to digest in a plan, that I can foresee any considerable advantage by remaining, which, I am convinced, you had in your eye when you proposed my stay here. Believe me, always impressed with a due sense of your obligations, to be, sir, your most obliged and obedient humble servant, J. Fergusson."‡

In 1767§ head coolies got Rs. 4-8 a month each; mates Rs. 3-8; coolies Rs. 2-8; 100 maunds of chunam cost Rs. 56; 30 seers of white chunam cost Re. 1; 1 maund of jagri cost Rs. 4; 1 maund of copper cost Rs. 67; a head bricklayer cost Rs. 10 a month; a mate Rs. 8; a bricklayer Rs. 6-4; a sawyer cost Rs. 7; a carpenter Rs. 8; a brazier Rs. 5; coolies in another place are said to cost Rs. 2 per mensem. The expense of the wood-work, however, was all included under the carpenters' and coolies' wages.

In October 1769 Mr. Vansittart reported|| that a considerable number of horses, brought chiefly from the northern provinces of Hindustan, passed every year for sale by the way of Midnapore into the Mahratta districts. He said,—“During the Nabob's government a duty (*mugra*) was collected on the valuation of the horse, of 2½ per cent. from Mussulman dealers, and 5 per cent. from Hindu dealers. Since the cession of Midnapore to the Company the duty had been discontinued, although no horses were allowed to pass without *dastaks* being first granted.” He suggested that a duty of 3 or 4 per cent. might indiscriminately be levied upon all dealers, as the Company's revenue would be increased and no inconvenience would apparently result from it.

In 1770¶ bullocks were hired at the rate of Rs. 9 for each pair per mensem.

* From John Cartier, Claud Russell, Charles Floyer, John Reed, H. Hare, J. Jekyll, and Thomas Lane, to Mr. George Vansittart, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 15th May 1770.

† From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 21st September 1770.

‡ From J. Fergusson to George Vansittart, Esq., dated Balarampur, the 30th August 1767.

§ To the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, Esq., President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, the 6th March 1767, from the Resident (name not given).

|| To James Alexander, Esq., dated Calcutta, the 25th October 1769, from the Resident (name not given).

¶ From Mr. Pearce to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 13th April 1770.

It would not be amiss to describe some of the amenities which characterized the correspondence, both public and private, that took place between officials who lived more than a century ago.

In a strictly official letter to the Collector-General the Resident's conclusion proceeds thus*,—"Mrs. Beecher, I hope, is well. I beg my compliments to her, and am, &c." In an official letter to "the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., of the Council of Fort William," Mr. Vansittart, the Resident, wrote, besides touching on other matters,† "Accept of my congratulations on your accession to the government, and believe me, with real esteem." In a letter addressed by the Midnapore Resident to Mr John Graham at Hooghly, commencing, Dear Sir, occur these words‡:—"I have little news to tell you but that yesterday, by a letter received from Ganjam, am informed that Colonel Wood has paid Captain Lennox, of the *Anson*, £1,000 for his passage home. The day he was to embark the Nabob arrested him through the Mayor's court for pagodas 45,000. Wood was left without house or furniture, and Lennox declared he would not return him a shilling of the passage-money. Hard times for favourites. Adieu. Believe me very sincerely to be yours." Addressing Lieutenant Goodyar in April, the Resident said§:—"I hope you are perfectly recovered from your fever. Messrs. Forbes and Bateman are gone to Birkul, and our little doctor sets out this afternoon." So that even in those early days it had grown to be the custom for the Residents of Midnapore to look for an escape from the hot winds and dust of the station in the coolness and sea-breezes of the coast.

Mr. Peiarce, the Resident, wrote to Mr. Cartier||:—"Hon'ble Sir, Lieutenant Rooke being desirous of accompanying Mrs. Rooke to Calcutta, where she is going to lie-in, he has asked my permission, and I hope my granting it will meet with your approbation." Such a subject would scarcely in the present day form the theme of an official communication addressed directly to the head of the Government.

On¶ the 30th May 1770 the Resident wrote to the Governor:—"Give me leave, sir, to inform you that the Fort William occurrences for the month of April have not yet reached this factory, which circumstance I have mentioned to the Town Major in two letters."

In** 1770 the head of the Government is found to write to the Provisional Resident in Midnapore in the following terms:—"This will be delivered to you by Mr. Lord, who I have permitted to go to Midnapore for the recovery of a sum of money due to him from two black merchants resident in that province. Without your help I am sensible nothing is to be done; therefore I request it in his behalf, should he prove the lawfulness of the demand."

* From the Resident to Richard Beecher, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 19th July 1768.

† From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Cartier, dated Midnapore, the 6th January 1770.

‡ From the Resident to John Graham, Esq., at Hooghly, dated Midnapore, the 3rd May 1770.

§ From John Peiarce to Lieutenant Goodyar, dated Midnapore, the 23rd April 1770.

|| From the Resident to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President, dated Midnapore, the 13th August 1770.

¶ From Mr John Peiarce, Resident, to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor of Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 30th May 1770.

** From John Cartier to Mr. Peiarce, dated 8th June 1770.

In the year 1771 were introduced many important changes in the machinery appointed for the transaction of business in the several departments.* In a letter written in March 1771 the Government said,—“In conformity to the orders of our Hon’ble employers, we have instituted Committees for the control and direction of every department of the Company’s affairs in Bengal and Behar.

“Under the Committee of Accounts is placed all business which relates to accounts, and you are in future to transmit to them the accounts of your Residency, and to correspond with them on all such matters as regard that branch; and whatever orders they may send you are punctually to obey and execute in the same manner as if they were sent by us.

“You are to address them as follows:—

“To the Hon’ble the President and Members of the Comptrolling Committee of Accounts.”

Similarly there was formed a Committee† of Commerce, under whose superintendence was placed all business relative to the investment. This Committee was to be addressed as “the Hon’ble the President and Members of the Comptrolling Committee of Commerce.”‡ Likewise there was instituted a Committee of Revenue, under whom was placed all business relative to the revenue; and Mr. Baber was to correspond in future with this Committee on all such matters as regarded that branch. He was to address them as follows:—“To the Hon’ble the President and Members of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue.” The§ creation of this Committee naturally entailed the abolition of the office of the Collector-General.

In|| 1773 there was a Council of Revenue, consisting of a President and Members; and it is presumed that this Council and the Committee alluded to above were one and the same body, for the style of address, “Committee of Revenue,” disappears from the records of 1773, there being apparently only one isolated instance¶ in that year where it was used. There was also a Board of Revenue,** but it is not known what functions were performed by it independently of those centred in the Committee or Council. It is likely that this Board was the khalsa, with a Superintendent, who was Mr. John Graham in August 1773,†† succeeded by Mr. Vansittart‡‡ in November 1773, who was succeeded by Mr. Lawrell in 1774.§§ The khalsa supervised the proceedings of

* From John Cartier, Charles Floyer, and H. Hare, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th March 1771.

† From John Cartier, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, and John Reed, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th March 1771.

‡ From John Cartier, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, and John Reed, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th March 1771.

§ No. 53, from Claud Russell, Collector-General, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 4th March 1771.

|| From Edward Baber to the Hon’ble Warren Hastings, Esq., President and Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 2nd January 1773.

¶ From the Resident to the Hon’ble the President and the rest of the Members of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 15th March 1773.

** From Samuel Lewis to William Aldersey, Esq., and Members of the Board of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 20th July 1773.

†† From Samuel Lewis to John Graham, Esq., Superintendent of the Khalsa, dated Midnapore, the 27th August 1773.

‡‡ From Samuel Lewis to Geo. Vansittart, Esq., Superintendent of the Khalsa, dated Midnapore the 1st November 1773.

§§ From Samuel Lewis to James Lawrell, Esq., Superintendent of the Khalsa, dated Midnapore, the 14th January 1774.

Collectors of districts. There* was also a Board of Inspection, composed of President and Members,† who looked after factory accounts, fort buildings, &c. Mr. William Aldersey‡ used to be addressed in 1773 as the Controllor of Investments. This gentleman had officiated for sometime during the year as head of the Government§ during Mr. Hastings' absence from the presidency. In 1773|| there was also formed at the presidency a Board of Customs, consisting of John Graham as President, and Messrs. Stuart, Palk, Lloyd, Baber as members. Before¶ the close of 1773, it was directed that letters which had been hitherto addressed to the Committee of Commerce were in future to be addressed to the President and Council. On the cover of the letters was to be noted the service they were on by the word "Investment."

The student of history will know that Mr. Warren Hastings succeeded Mr. Cartier** as the head of the Government on the 13th April 1772. His proper title of Governor-General, however, does not seem to have been promptly familiarized to the various officials in the interior who had occasion to address him. He was still styled "President and Governor of Council." Mr. Baber, in writing to the Council†† in April 1772 (in reply to the letter by which Messrs. Warren Hastings, Aldersey, Dacres, Lane, Barwell, Lawrell, Goodwin, and Graham, acquainted him that the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq., having resigned the Government of the Presidency, was, agreeably to the appointment of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, succeeded therein by the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq.,) said,—“I have been honoured by the receipt of your letter dated the 13th instant, acquainting me with Mr. Hastings' accession to the government, on which event I beg leave to offer my sincere congratulations and best wishes that his administration may be attended with happiness and successfulness.”

Mr. Baber was directed‡‡ to repair to the presidency, and was succeeded by Samuel Lewis in May 1773, about the time when Residents began to be called Collectors, though not with complete uniformity. On relieving Mr. Baber, Mr. Lewis§§ reported having received charge of the factory and collectorship.

* From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President and Members of the Board of Inspection, dated Midnapore, the 1st November 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble the President and Members of the Board of Inspection, dated Midnapore, the 9th July 1773.

‡ From Samuel Lewis to William Aldersey, Esq., Controllor of Investments, dated Midnapore, the 24th December 1773.

§ From Samuel Lewis to William Aldersey, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 19th July 1773.

|| From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, R. Barwell, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, John Graham, W. Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 30th March 1773.

¶ From Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, John Graham, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 25th November 1773.

** From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, and John Graham, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 13th April 1772.

†† From the Resident to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, the 19th April 1772.

‡‡ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, William Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th March 1773.

§§ From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, the 1st May 1773.

Two years previous Mr. Baber had been informed by the Government of the limitation of his allowances. They said*—"In compliance with the orders of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, we have resolved on a reduction of the allowances granted to our Residents of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Maldah; and we do hereby direct that in future the allowances granted to you as Resident at Midnapore be fixed at the sum of 1,800 Sicca rupees per annum; this regulation to take place on the first day of April next ensuing," that is, 1st April 1771.

A description of the Collector's establishment as fixed in 1773 may not be deemed uninteresting. As stated already,† the Collector's allowances were Rs. 150 per mensem; his two assistants got Rs. 400; Udainarain, the dewan daftar, got Rs. 350, the naib Rs. 60, karkun Rs. 30, muharrirs Rs. 100, munshis Rs. 100, vakil at Calcutta Rs. 50—total Rs. 690. The dewan daftar at Jellasure, Bipraprasaud, naib dewan, got Rs. 175, karkun Rs. 30, muharrirs Rs. 50, vakil at Calcutta Rs. 30, two munshis Rs. 50—total Rs. 335. In the bakshi's daftar two muharrirs got Rs. 30, one sirkar Rs. 10—total Rs. 40. In the khazanchi's daftar one cash-keeper got Rs. 25, two tahwildars Rs. 40, five muharrirs Rs. 75, two poddars Rs. 20—total Rs. 160. For contingencies, Bengal paper, ink, and wax, there were allowed Rs. 50, oil Rs. 40, wax candles Rs. 30, mats, &c., Rs. 10—total Rs. 130. One nazir got Rs. 30, three naibs Rs. 22, thirty-two peons Rs. 128, one thanadar at Jellasure Rs. 20, four daftars Rs. 13, five watermen Rs. 11, one kotwal Rs. 15, four mehtars Rs. 7, one mashalchi Rs. 3-8, three farhashes Rs. 9, chief's servants, &c., got Rs. 150—total Rs. 408-8. Separate charges for the western jungles and Bhelorachar pergunnah were, for thana Janpur, one tehsildar Rs. 30, one thanadar Rs. 20, two muharrirs Rs. 18, one jemadar Rs. 6—total Rs. 74. For thana Balarampur one thanadar Rs. 20, one naib at Satna (Chhatna) Rs. 15, one muharrir Rs. 12, one jemadar Rs. 6—total Rs. 53. For Bhelorachar one tehsildar Rs. 15, muharrir Rs. 10—total Rs. 25. The expenses of the faujdari adalat were limited to Rs. 375 per mensem, and those of the dewani adalat to Rs. 65 per mensem.‡ The Collector was to disburse the amount in future under the head of charges collections thus,—Faujdari adalat Rs. 375, dewani adalat Rs. 65, no detail of the expenditure being given in the records.

It appears that the establishment of servants for the collections in Midnapore was formed from the one framed by the Council of Revenue§ for Kishnaghur, a few deviations only being made. A separate establishment of tehsildars and other servants for the western jungles was deemed requisite on account of the distance they were, and the nature of the inhabitants, who were said to be a mere set of freebooters; and if there were not some person to remain amongst them on the part of the Collector, they would not pay a rupee of their rents. As

* From John Cartier, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, John Reed, and H. Hare, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 18th March 1771.

† Enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell John Graham, William Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 4th May 1773.

‡ *Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, H. Goodwin, John Graham, William Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 1st June 1773.

§ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Member of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 2nd January 1773.

Bhelorachar was a pergunnah situated on the western side of the Subarnrekha amidst the Maharattas, it was therefore necessary that somebody on the part of the Collector should be there.

In 1772 it had been decided* that no charges for *budgerows* or boats, or other specific articles, were to be allowed in future for the travelling expenses of Company's servants; a fixed sum was substituted in lieu of them. The allowances were adjusted from a "calculate" of the rate of boat-hire, the number of boats required, batta to servants to and from the different places, together with their respective distances and situation. A few instances may be cited. Burdwan was said to be 50 miles distant from the presidency, Midnapore 60 miles: a Resident for travelling to either of these places got Arcot Rs. 200, an assistant Rs. 100. Malda was said to be 200 miles, and they got, Rs. 600 and Rs. 250 respectively. Chittagong was said to be 285 miles, a chief, not of Council, got Rs. 900 for going there; members of Council at the factory got Rs. 700; assistants Rs. 350. Dacca was said to be 250 miles; a chief, not of Council, and the others got Rs. 800; Rs. 600, Rs. 300 respectively for going there. The servants sent down to Hijli for the despatch of ships to Europe and other occasional services were allowed batta at the rate of Rs. 12 per diem for a junior merchant or factor, and for a writer at the rate of Rs. 6 per diem. The following rates were fixed upon for the travelling expenses of the several Collectors or others who might be employed occasionally at any of the places mentioned. To or from Jessore, which was said to be 70 miles, Collectors got Rs. 200, assistants got Rs. 100. To or from Beerbhoom, said to be 90 miles, they got Rs. 200 and Rs. 100 respectively. To or from Nuddea, said to be 54 miles, they got Rs. 200 and Rs. 100 respectively. To or from Comercolly, said to be 140 miles, they got Rs. 400 and Rs. 150 respectively. To or from Purneah and Rungpore, also Bhagulpore, said to be 260 and 265 miles respectively, a member of the Board employed on any occasional services, supposing that he required two assistants, was allowed at the rate of Rs. 1,000 per mensem in lieu of every expense whatever. In 1773 the Board of Inspection decided† that the following rates should be made applicable to members of Council who were by the Company's orders appointed to hold the chiefships of the subordinate factories. To or from the durbar the President got Arcot Rs. 1,000; to or from Dacca a chief, being a member of Council, drew Rs. 2,000; to or from Chittagong Rs. 2,500, and so on.

The present opportunity seems a suitable one to explain the limits of expenditure in other departments which the Government thought fit to introduce about this period. Midnapore factory was said to differ very much from the Residences of Collectors.‡ Ever since the Company had a fort and factory in Midnapore there was an establishment of artificers and 720 coolies, who were constantly employed about the buildings the Company had there, and in carrying the cloths of the

* *Board of Inspection*.—Extract of the proceedings of the Board of Inspection, dated 19th May 1772, forwarded with a letter from William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, H. Goodwin, and John Graham, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 1st July 1773.

† Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Inspection, dated 1st July 1773, forwarded to the Resident of Midnapore on the 1st July 1773.

‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Gentlemen of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 4th January 1773.

investment and the treasure which were sent to Calcutta *via* Gangakhali, as also in clearing the grounds* and roads about the factory and forts and through the jungle, which would otherwise have been choked up in a few months. The Government prohibited† any charges for new buildings and repairs without previous sanction, and wished to curtail the large expenditure on account of the entertainment of coolies and artificers, who cost about Rs. 1,800 per mensem. Mr. Baber said that extreme inconvenience would be caused if they were dismissed, because when occasion required they would not be available, as all the tolerable artificers and most of the coolies would repair for employment to Calcutta; the rest would spread themselves over the the country to the same end; that without pressing and distressing ryots by taking them from their own work coolies could not be had. Delay also would ensue in getting them together. As to artificers, it would be necessary to send for them to Calcutta. It was hoped, however, that a considerable reduction in the number of coolies employed would take place before the rains set in. Their total dismissal, and the abolition of the permanent establishment that had hitherto been entertained, were deprecated as fraught with the greatest inconvenience.

In July 1773‡ the number of coolies to be employed was reduced, and the charges of repairs at Midnapore were henceforward restricted to Rs. 600 per mensem, in full of workmen's wages, coolies, stores, sirkars' allowances, and every other expense.

In June 1773,§ as the indulgence of surgeons granted to the several collectorships was found to result in a very heavy expense to the Company, the Government came to the resolution that they should receive only their established pay, and be allowed no contingencies whatever. Such medicines as were wanted were to be purchased at their own expense by the Collectors, at whose application the surgeon had been appointed; any articles that were not so procurable were to be indented for from the presidency. The Resident in reply said|| that he would take particular care that no expense accrued to the Company on his account by the surgeon fixed at his Residency. A Mr. Cunningham was appointed surgeon in the room of Mr. Gardiner in March 1773.¶

Finally, in March 1774, the head of the Government wrote personally to the Resident the following letter, which necessitated still further reductions in the expenditure of the Midnapore establishment.**

“The Council having lately formed some regulations for regulating

* *Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, and Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 5th February 1773.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 14th February 1773.

‡ *Board of Inspection*.—Extract of the proceedings of the Board of Inspection, dated 5th July 1773, forwarded with a letter from William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, and John Graham, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 5th July 1773.

§ *Circulars, Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, H. Goodwin, John Graham, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 15th June 1773.

|| From Samuel Lewis to the Hon ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Members of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 24th June 1773.

¶ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, John Graham, William Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 26th March 1773.

** From Warren Hastings to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 7th March 1774.

and limiting all military expenses, such of the general orders as are transmitted to you by the Town Major you will be pleased implicitly and punctually to obey. I am led particularly to address you on this subject, as I observe that the military expenses and extra charges run the highest at all the factories and residencies where sepoys are stationed, and that in particular they are unlimited and extravagant at Midnapore. In looking over the military disbursements of your Residency, I find the Company charged with a deputy commissary of stores, who is a commissioned officer, a conductor, and a magazine sergeant; I find also pay and allowances charged for a military paymaster to pay one single battalion of sepoys, an allowance to the surgeon for attending the sepoys above the pay of his station, with a train of contingencies in these several departments; a numerous establishment of lascars and artificers, irregular charges for draught and carriage bullocks, which ought to have been furnished and paid by the contractor, and an unauthorized demand for building cantonments, without any permission having been previously obtained for incurring such an expense. I positively direct that all the above charges shall be struck off immediately on the receipt of this letter; that Lieutenant Bolton shall be ordered to join his brigade, and the sergeants employed as conductor and magazine sergeant sent up to the presidency, if they do not belong to any particular corps, which in this case they must be ordered to join. The stores you will take care of without this unnecessary expense, and I enjoin you to be careful in future to prevent every unauthorized and extravagant charge, whether for contingencies or under the pretence of allowances.”* The lascars and artificers formerly attached to the several divisions of pergunnah sepoys, and continued on pay at the factories at Patna, Muradbag, Burdwan, Midnapore, Dacca, and Chittagong, were dismissed, and no further charges incurred under that head after the 31st March 1774 were to be allowed.

The subject of retrenchments may be dismissed with a notice which perhaps may not be uninteresting to junior Civil Servants of the present day.† “The Board remarking that a considerable amount is allowed monthly for the stipends of munshees to instruct junior servants of the Company in the knowledge of the Persian language, to prevent the misapplication of this indulgence, and to ensure the purpose intended by it—

“Resolved that these allowances do cease entirely from the 30th of this month, and that none be hereafter renewed but such as shall be ordered by the President in consequence of fresh applications; and to such only as he shall judge entitled to them either by a hearty disposition to apply to the study of the Persian language, or by producing proof of their having already obtained a proficiency in it; and that it be declared that those who shall make a considerable progress in this language shall be recommended to the notice of the of the Court of Directors.”

* Enclosure to a letter from the Town Major to the Resident at Midnapore, dated 6th March 1774.

† *Board of Inspection.*—Extract of the proceedings of the Board of Inspection, dated 21st April 1774, forwarded with a letter from Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, John Graham, George Vansittart, Nicholas Grueber, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 21st April 1774.

In December 1771 it was reported that the fort at Midnapore was in a very bad condition, and was in want of a thorough repair*; the beams and bargars of the godowns had all gone to decay, and would have to be entirely changed, consequently, the terrace of the ramparts would have to be taken up and new laid. It was estimated that not less than Rs. 15,000. would have to be expended in repairs. The godowns were the Company's only warehouse in Midnapore. Accordingly, Mr. Penman, the Deputy Civil Architect, was ordered† to proceed immediately to Midnapore to examine the state of the fort and to prepare an estimate. In accordance with this requisition Mr. Penman submitted‡ an estimate, amounting to 13,500 Arcot rupees, "to repair the godowns or ramparts as they were before with beams, burgurs and terras, together with rebuilding part of the cross walls that have given way which supported the beams." Mr. Baber was immediately to commence the repair. It seems there was a dry ditch§ to the fort in which were palisades, the fort being tenable only against horse. These palisades required repairs,|| and they had to be carried round the fort, being fixed or sunk three feet in a brick wall eighteen inches thick, within the ditch or covert way of the fort; they had also to be laid over with a mixture of tar, dammer, and mustard oil, which appeared to be necessary for the preservation of the timbers. By the month of June 1772 the reparation¶ of the ramparts was entirely completed, but thirty or forty barrels of tar were required for the palisades and beams to prevent the attacks of white ants. There was a slight excess of Rs. 190 in the expenditure over the sanctioned estimate of 13,500 Arcot rupees. Forty barrels** of tar were ordered to be forwarded to Midnapore.

On the subject of buildings and repairs the following circular was promulgated in the end of the year††:—"In order to prevent the superfluous disbursements for buildings in the several districts under the management of the Collectors, we now direct that you do not in future make any charges whatever for new buildings or repairs in your district without previously advising us of the necessity of such expenses."

In exemplification of the relations which subsisted in 1771 between the Company and its employes, it has been deemed proper to give in this place an extract from a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, dated the 10th April 1771.‡‡

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq., President and Governor, &c., of the Council, dated Midnapore, the 2nd December 1771.

† From John Cartier, Samuel Middleton, William Aldersey, and Joseph Jekyll, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 3rd December 1771.

‡ From John Cartier, Samuel Middleton, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 13th January 1772.

§ From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council (date not given).

|| From D. Penman, Deputy Civil Architect, to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, dated Fort William, the 14th March 1772.

¶ From the Resident to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, the 25th June 1772.

** From William Aldersey, Richard-Baswell, James Harris, and H. Goodwin, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 2nd July 1772.

†† *Circular, Revenue Department.*—From Warren Hastings; Robert Barker, William Aldersey and Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 7th November 1772.

‡‡ Extract of a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, dated the 10th April 1771.

Para. 85.—"To remedy several defects in the engagements which have been formerly entered into with us by our servants both civil and military, and by surgeons, free merchants, free mariners, and others that are now or may hereafter be employed by the Company, or permitted to reside in India under our license and protection, we have thought proper (with the advice of our standing counsel and solicitor), to add some clauses to the covenants usually entered into by the civil and military servants and free merchants, in order to restrain them from assisting foreign Companies, or supplying country powers with warlike stores; and to prevent them from remaining in India beyond a time limited, after proper notice given them to depart.

86. "With the same view we have thought it necessary that all surgeons and free mariners should enter into covenants with the Company, nearly to the like effect as the restrictive clauses above mentioned.

87. "But that all our civil and military servants and surgeons, or assistant surgeons, as likewise free merchants and free mariners, now in India, may be put upon an equality in their covenant engagements with the Company, with those who shall go from England this season or hereafter, we now send you by the ship *Colebrook* such a number of covenants as upon a calculation made we deem sufficient to be entered into by the persons under the above descriptions that may be employed in, or reside at, or under our presidency of Bengal upon the receipt of these advices. And it is our positive order and direction that each of the above described persons be, as soon after the *Colebrook's* arrival as convenient, required to sign one of the said covenants according to the rank and station he may be in; and should any person refuse a compliance with this our order, if he is in our service, he must be dismissed therefrom and sent home, or if under our protection, such protection is to be withdrawn from him, and the person so refusing to be sent to England.

88. "In the above paragraph you will observe we have directed one covenant to be executed by each person, which covenant, after being executed and witnessed by two persons, as to the sealing and delivery by the party, and one person as to the covenant after having previously read the same, must be forwarded to us by the first conveyance after execution; and upon our receiving the same, and security being given by two persons here in the undermentioned sums set against the respective stations, we shall transmit a counterpart of each covenant, with the Company's seal affixed thereto, which counterpart you must duly deliver to the parties concerned; and here it is needful to observe that you must enjoin each person to desire two responsible persons in England to enter into the above security bonds.

	£
" The bond for the Governor is to be in	10,000
Each Councillor	4,000
„ Senior Merchant	3,000
„ Junior „	2,000
„ Factor	1,000
„ Writer	500
„ Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon	1,000
„ Free Merchant	2,000
„ „ Mariner	500

Accordingly,* a parcel of covenants was transmitted in June 1772, to be signed by the Company's servants and surgeons at Midnapore factory. All† officers and surgeons in the military establishment also were required in July 1772 to sign a new set of covenants. The Town Major sent them to the Commanding Officers of Brigades and of the several corps composing the army, who were directed to require all the officers who were under their command to execute them without delay; and all officers and military surgeons were ordered to sign the same, to be returned as expeditiously as possible to the Town Major of Fort William, that they might be delivered to the Secretary and transmitted to Europe by the first conveyance; and all officers and military surgeons were informed that the Directors would, on the receiving of them, transmit to Bengal counter covenants on the part of the Hon'ble Company.

The‡ following letter will not prove uninteresting:—"The Hon'ble the Court of Directors having been pleased to direct that all the members of our Council (the Chief of the Moorshedabad Council excepted) shall remain at the presidency, they have, in order to compensate for the loss they might sustain by being deprived of the advantages of trade which their stations at the subordinates would have given them, directed that the Council, though resident in Calcutta, are to pursue and maintain their right to trade in every part of the country, so as not to interfere with the Company's investment, and the Directors empower them to prevent the out-factories from interrupting their trade in any manner under the severest penalties. And they likewise order that if it is true that the Chiefs of particular districts have kept the whole trade to themselves, it is a monopoly which has their disapprobation, and must be at all events entirely abolished:

"We do therefore direct that strict obedience be paid by you to these orders of the Court of Directors, and any infringement of them will meet with our highest resentment, as we are determined to maintain, pursue, and preserve to all people under our Government a free and uninterrupted trade throughout every part of the country. And that no person may under pretence of ignorance of these orders venture to monopolize any branch of the trade in the district under his charge, or throw any impediments in the way of any of their or our agents, you are to send to every person under your direction the substance of these our orders with the most positive injunctions to obedience."

In§ March 1771 the Resident wrote the following letter to the Collector-General:—"The number of merchants who came into this province from the adjacent countries to purchase rice increased the price so much, and seemed to be of so dangerous a consequence, that I had a general complaint preferred to me of the hardship of its being so dear at this season, and of the probability of a great scarcity in a

* From W. Wyme, Secretary, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 18th June 1772.

† Enclosure to a letter from Robert Kyd, Town Major, to Edward Baber, Esq., at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th July, 1772.

‡ From John Cartier to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 14th March 1771.

§ From Edward Baber to Claud Russell, Esq., Collector-General, dated Midnapore, the 7th March 1771.

short time; hence I made a strict inquiry into the cause of this complaint, and found that what had been alleged by the merchants of this province and the other inhabitants was very just, and that much larger quantities were carried out of the province than the country could afford. I therefore issued an order prohibiting any rice to be purchased that was not to be sold again in the provinces of Midnapore and Jellasure. I am very averse to all interruptions to trade, and think that nothing but necessity can justify prohibitions, and the present prohibition proceeded entirely from this cause. We have had a very plentiful crop in some parts of the province, but in others there are some heavy losses sustained at the latter end of the rainy season; and there are large tracts of land which cannot be cultivated, so that you will easily perceive the impossibility of the province affording supplies for its own consumption and for the demands of the great number of purchasers. But what is very unreasonable, the purchasers come from two provinces, which are famous for grain—Hooghly and Burdwan. I flatter myself that this measure will meet with your approbation, as it was adopted purely from the motive of ease to the inhabitants of these provinces.” No exception was taken to the Resident’s proceedings, and so the matter must have been allowed to drop out of notice. But in November 1772 the Government itself came to a resolution which can be best described in its own words:—“We* have this day come to a resolution of taking off all duties on grain throughout the provinces till the first of Bhadun, or 14th of August next, in order to promote and encourage the free circulation and export of this article during its present remarkable plenty and cheapness. We desire therefore that you will make these orders as public as possible throughout the districts under your control.”

In† November 1773 the Government wanted to know the quantity of grain in the provinces, as well the produce of former harvests remaining in store, as the expectations entertained from the present crop. They‡ had laid an embargo on the exportation of grain, from which embargo the trade of the country was suffering very much, and they wished to remove it unless there should appear an absolute necessity for its continuance. The existing average prices of the different sorts of grain were also required, and prices-current were to be furnished every month.

In§ October 1772 Mr. Baber was ordered to make inquiry into all straggling Europeans who might either reside, or be only passengers, in the districts under his charge. He was to stop all such till he received further orders, and he was to return an account to the Board of such as were provided with proper certificates or passports from the

* *Circular, Revenue Department.*—From Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, and Thomas Lane, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 17th November 1772.

† *Circular, Revenue Department.*—From Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th November 1773.

‡ *Circular, Revenue Department.*—From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 19th November 1773.

§ From John Stewart, Secretary, to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 16th October 1772.

Foreign Companies, without molesting them further, till the pleasure of the Board regarding them was known. In* November 1773 an exact list of every European not a covenanted servant of the Company, residing within the districts, with an account of his employment, &c., was required by Government.

About† the year 1773 zemindari chaukis, where tolls were exacted on merchandize conveyed from one place to another, were abolished; but the Government did not mean that they should lose any benefit arising from the abolition, for they disclosed their intention to establish new chaukis at convenient places, and with this object in view the Board of Customs called upon the Resident for a report. They said‡—"You herewith receive a copy of the 1st and 7th resolutions of the Hon'ble the President and Council, for future establishment and regulation of the duties of the Government. In consequence we desire you will immediately furnish us with a full and distinct account of all the gunges within your district, digested into such a form as may most clearly elucidate the sources of the revenue arising from them, and more especially what portion thereof comes under the head of ground rent and what under the head of duties.

"You will also please to transmit us a statement of the phandeas dependent on the gunges, prepared in like manner that we may adopt the necessary measures for abolishing them without delay, conformable to the orders of the Hon'ble the President in Council.

"We likewise desire you will inform yourself and acquaint us which you think the most proper place for fixing the chowkies therein mentioned in the 7th resolution. We further request you will transmit us the most accurate information you can obtain of the trade which is carried on by the track pointed out in the resolution, or, in other words, we wish to know from you the articles of traffic, their quantity and amount, computed to be annually exported through that channel." The§ resolutions referred to were: (1) That all duties, tolls, fees or ground-rents collected at the gunges shall be collected as usual until the Board shall establish such new regulations regarding them as they may think necessary. But that all * * * grain at the gunges shall be entirely prohibited, and to render this prohibition the more effectual, that all the inferior chowkies belonging to gunges, known under the denomination of phandeas, and at which road-duties have hitherto been collected, shall be abolished, and the practice which has too frequently prevailed of obliging merchants to bring their goods to particular gunges or markets is hereby strictly forbidden under the severest penalties, so that every merchant shall be at liberty to carry his merchandize wherever he thinks proper for sale.

* From Warren Hastings, R. Barker, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, Henry Goodwin, and John Graham, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 22nd November 1773.

† *Board of Customs*.—From John Graham and Nicholas Grueber to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 5th January 1774.

‡ *Board of Customs*.—From John Graham, Robert Palk, and Charles Lloyd, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 21st April 1773.

§ Copy of the 1st and 7th resolutions of the Hon'ble the President and Council for the future establishment and regulation of the duties of the country Government, forwarded with a letter from J. Graham, Robert Palk, and Charles Lloyd, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 21st April 1773.

7. "That exclusive of these custom-houses there shall be two chowkies erected to collect the duty on goods exported to the * * * through the passes of the hills bounding Midnapore, Bishnupur, Pachet, and Beerbhoom, and another for collecting the duty on the goods exported to the northward by the Sonassey merchants, who trade from Maldah to the upper parts of Hindoostan; the stations at which these chowkies shall be fixed and the control they are to be under, to be regulated by the Board of Customs." The* Resident said that if there were only to be two chaukis established for controlling the trade through the western hills, Rangar, a place in the Behar province, about 110 kos west, a little northerly from Midnapore, and Jagannathpur, about 30 kos north from Midnapore, or 12 kos from Bishnupur, were the properest for the purpose; but with these alone it would be impossible to prevent a large quantity of goods passing through the country "due free," whereas chaukis at the following places would effectually prevent it, and by the difference of the collections make ample amends for the additional expense which would be incurred thereby.

Manbhoom, distant from Midnapore about	...	32	kos north-westerly.
Chhatna	...	40	„ northerly.
Barahabhum...	...	40	„ westerly.
Patkum	...	40	„ ditto.
"Magamoysoia"	...	46	„ northerly.

No dustaks were henceforward† to be valid or to exempt goods from the payment of Government duty. The established‡ Government custom-houses were at Calcutta, Hooghly, Dacca, Moorsshedabad, and Patna.

It is but fair, however, to state that in the early part of 1774§ the ganj. duties were placed on a fair and equitable footing, and the merchants were relieved from all plea of grievance. It was resolved by the Council of Revenue that no duties of any denomination should be levied at the ganjes excepting on goods which were actually there sold. Goods passing through the ganjes for sale at other ganjes were to be liable to no demand or hinderance whatsoever, or if the merchant should, after his goods had been landed at any ganj, determine still to convey them to another market, he should have a right so to do without paying any duty, as he would be subject to the established duty at the place of sale.

In April 1774 the following order|| was issued from the Revenue Department:—"We desire you will furnish us with an account of the revenue received from the collection of rahydarry duties at the inland chowkeys in the years 1177 and 1178 in the districts under your charge, and also an account of what was received from the collections in hauts and gunges. In the account of rahydarry duties you will, if possible,

* From Samuel Lewis to John Graham, Esq., President and Members of the Board of Customs, dated Midnapore, the 25th May 1773.

† *Board of Customs*.—From John Graham, Charles Stuart, Robert Palk, and Charles Lloyd, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 27th April 1773.

‡ *Board of Customs*.—From J. Graham, Charles Stuart, Robert Palk, and Charles Lloyd, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 19th May 1773.

§ *Circular, Revenue Department*.—Extract of the Council of Revenue proceedings held at Fort William, the 1st of March 1774, being enclosure to a letter from Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, Henry Goodwin, J. Graham, and Geo. Vansittart, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 1st March 1774.

|| *Revenue Department*.—From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, Geo. Vansittart, and Nicholas Grueber, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 12th April 1774.

distinguish the amount levied upon grain and the amount levied upon other articles. If you transmit us the accounts of the gross collections, it will further be necessary that the charges should be specified so as to exhibit the net revenue arising from the river chowkeys which have since been abolished, and for which deductions have been allowed to the renters."

Amongst miscellaneous matters* of minor interest, it may be remarked that in February 1771 among the stores required for the use of the Midnapore factory and garrison were hour-glasses two, glue one maund, tar two barrels, wood-oil five maunds, Europe iron 100 maunds, "Bunten," rattans, 20 bales; sheet copper two maunds, square iron 20 maunds; grindstone 1; painter's brushes 12; paints (such as vermilion 20 seers, verdigrease 20 seers, Europe blue 1 maund); sail needles 100, canvas 20 bolts, "Peerpatans."

In the years 1771-74† the military disbursements at the factory during a month amounted on an average to 11,000 current rupees.

The Resident always wrote to the head of the Government,‡ addressing him by name, when he enclosed the abstract accounts of disbursements of the factory for the month.

The Resident was allowed§ one field officer's dining tent, and two lined sleeping tents. These had become so old that in 1772 new tents were required. The Resident said that the tents had been originally furnished, as it was necessary that he should visit different parts of the provinces.

In 1773 there was one company|| under the command of a Subadar stationed at Jellalore; "the frontier of the province to the southward." A company had been constantly kept there for many years in order to prevent the encroachments of the Maharattas and the desertion of the Company's ryots.

In the old times officials strangely touched on topics the most distinct from one another in one and the same letter. As an example might be cited the following¶:—"In consequence of your orders I had this day the honour to receive from Mr. Baber the charge of this factory and collectorship. As we are in great want of stationery, I request you will direct the sub-accountant to comply with the indent made from hence in October last."

In 1773 Mr. Randolph Marriott was stationed in Balasore, as the letter quoted below will show.** It is not apparent, however, in what capacity he resided there:—"Dear Sir,—I am favoured with your letter of the 13th, and return you thanks for your congratulation. You may depend nothing on my part shall be wanting to the establishment of an amicable correspondence between us. Agreeable to your request I now send you,

* From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble John Cartier, President and Governor, &c., of the Council at Fort William, dated Midnapore, the 24th February 1771.

† From Edward Baber to the Hon'ble the President and the rest of the Members of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 5th June and 15th July 1772.

‡ From the Resident to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, dated Midnapore, the 14th May 1772.

§ From the Resident to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of Council, dated Midnapore, 21st June 1772.

|| From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., dated Midnapore, the 12th June 1773.

¶ From Samuel Lewis to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President and Governor, &c., Gentlemen of the Council of Revenue, dated Midnapore, the 1st May 1773.

** From Samuel Lewis to Randolph Marriott, dated Midnapore, the 15th May 1773.

under the escort of a naik and six sepoys, 2,000 Sicca rupees full weight, for which I request your bills on the Committee of Revenue."

In August* 1773 the country between Midnapore and Oolaberiah was under water, and the roads were thereby rendered impassable; troops had to march to Calcutta through Burdwan by the Ashrafpur road.

It had become the custom so early as 1773 to call for a statement of the cash balances in the Midnapore treasury on the last day of each month. In December 1773† it was stated that the receipts of the past month, together with what remained on the 31st October, were but just sufficient to defray the expenses of the Midnapore factory; and there was not any balance in the treasury on the last day of November. The balance of cash in the treasury on the last day of January was C. Rs. 46,569-1-9.‡

In March 1773§ Mr. John Peiarce was appointed to succeed to the collectorship of "Sircar Sarhun," and Mr. John Taylor was appointed an assistant at Midnapore in his stead. In April 1773 both Mr. Samuel Lewis|| and Mr. Edward Baber¶ were addressed personally as Residents or Collectors of Midnapore, though, as shown above, the former did not succeed the latter till 1st May 1773.

There used to be two matwas stationed at Gangakhali for the conveyance to and from Calcutta of stores, treasure, &c.. In July 1773 the Resident was requested,** if there were no immediate occasion for these matwas at Gangakhali, to order them directly to Midnapore to bring some deer, which Mr. Baber had left for the Governor. Mr. Aldersey further said††,—"There were two other matwas sent to you some time ago with stores. If these should not yet be returned, be so good as to order them also to assist on this occasion" (that is, the conveyance of the deer).

There were six houses‡‡ belonging to the Company at Midnapore, three for the accommodation of the Resident and assistant, and three for the officers of the sepoy battalion.

The following notices§§ may possess some interest in the consideration of the general reader:—"Notice is hereby given that on Monday,

* From Samuel Lewis to John Bathoe, Esq., dated Midnapore, the 9th August 1773.

† From Samuel Lewis to Mr. Richard Johnson, dated Midnapore, the 4th December 1773.

‡ From Samuel Lewis to Mr. Charles Crofts, Accountant-General to the Revenue Department, dated Midnapore, the 9th February 1774.

§ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, James Lawrell, Henry Goodwin, J. Graham, William Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 26th March 1773.

|| From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, and William Lambert, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 12th April 1773.

¶ From J. Graham, Robert Palk, and Charles Lloyd, to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, Board of Customs, the 21st April 1773.

¶ From Warren Hastings, William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Richard Barwell, James Lawrell, H. Goodwin, J. Graham, W. Lambert, and George Vansittart, to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 13th April 1773.

§ Circular, Revenue Department, from Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Lane, Goodwin, Graham, to Mr. Edward Baber, Collector of Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 27th April 1773.

** From William Aldersey to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th July 1773.

†† From William Aldersey to Samuel Lewis, Esq., Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th July 1773.

‡‡ Extract of the proceedings of the Board of Inspection, dated 5th July 1773, forwarded to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, with a letter from William Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, and J. Graham, dated Fort William, Board of Inspection, dated 5th July 1773.

§§ Enclosure to a letter from T. Baugh, Secretary to Mr. Samuel Lewis, Resident at Midnapore, dated Fort William, the 9th December 1773.

the 17th of January 1774, will be sold by public outcry, at the old play-house, by the Company's auctioneer, the following houses belonging to the Hon'ble Company :—

"The house and garden of Dum-Dumma, a large upper-roomed house, part pukka and part cutcha, in good repair, consisting of five bed-chambers, two closets, two back-stairs, a hall, and veranda all round it, with a large staircase. The chambers and closets below the same as above. Stabling for six horses and two carriages, a range of godowns, a separate cutcha building for a bath, another for a billiard-table. A large garden, part raised, with a very fine tank, and surrounded with a ditch and a spot of ground to the east, and another to the south without the ditch, containing in all 126 beegahs and 9 cottahs.

"*The house and garden of Baraset.*—An upper-room house, part pukka, part cutcha, contains four bed-chambers, two back-stairs, two halls and veranda, and great staircase to the south. A new cutcha detached building, consisting of a cook-room, bath-room, and bake-house, with a stable at some distance from the house, built of posts and a straw chupper, very large and commodious, sufficient for ten carriages and four and twenty horses. A garden surrounded with railing, and a ditch and a tank, and a very extensive avenue in front, which leads to the public road, containing in all about 27 beegahs 19 cottahs.

"*The Old Council House.*—A cutcha building in Calcutta, with a detached building for a godown, cook-room, &c., and a compound, part surrounded with railing, containing 4 beegahs 11 cottahs of ground.

"*Cutwally.*—Situated in the great bazar near the Nabob's house. Is a small compound with two cutcha buildings, one upper and lower.

"*The new Foundry.*—Situated in Durrumtollah bazar, near a mile from the river. Is an oblong plot of ground about 270 feet long and 95 broad, in which there is 159 square feet of pukka building in sheds, shops, and furnaces in very good repair, being all built since the year 1769. The whole is about 2 beegahs of ground.

"*The Magazine yard.*—Situated between the street leading from the Government House and the old burying ground, the range of godowns belonging to Major Fortrom on the south side, and the garden of the head-surgeon's house and a house occupied by Captain Hog on the north. Is a plot of ground nearly a square of an hundred yards, two sides of which are covered with strong sheds in bad repair, and near the centre is a circular building of pukka 60 feet diameter, which has formerly been used as a magazine. There is also in the plot a tank about one hundred feet square, and contains about six beegahs and four cottahs of ground.

"The conditions of the sale for current rupees to be paid two months after the day of the sale.

"By order of the Hon'ble the President and Board of Inspection.

FORT WILLIAM,

J. BAUGH,

The 9th December 1773.

Secretary, Board of Inspection."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX No. 1.

Vide Page 11, Chapter I.

11. That* if any zemindar, talookdar, or chowdry, shall resist, or cause to be resisted, any process, order, rule, or decree which shall at any time issue from the Court of Sudder Dewani Adalat, or any Court of Dewani Adalat, on proof thereof being made by oath to the satisfaction of the Judge of that Court from which such process, order, rule, or decree shall have issued, such Court may and shall call on such zemindar to answer to such charge; and if such zemindar, talookdar, or chowdry shall refuse or neglect to make answer to the same, or if after answer given and the hearing of such evidences as he may produce it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Court that he is guilty of such charge, the Court shall award and decree that such zemindar, talookdar, or chowdry do from the time of the decree then made forfeit his zemindari, talookdari, or other lands respectively, and every right and title which he or his heirs may have in or to the same; and if any such decree be made in any Court of Dewani Adalat, it shall be lawful for such zemindar, talookdar, or chowdry to appeal to the Sudder Dewani Adalat; and if the Sudder Dewani Adalat shall confirm such decree, or shall make any original decree against any zemindar, talookdar, or chowdry on account of any resistance made or caused to be made to any process, rule, order, or decree of the Sudder Dewani Adalat, the Judge of the Sudder Dewani Adalat shall, within one month, transmit to the Governor-General and Council such decree with all the proceedings related thereto; and in case any zemindar, talookdar, or chowdry against whom such decree shall be made in any Court of Dewani Adalat shall not appeal against the same within the time limited for appeals, then the Court which shall have made such decree shall, within one month after the expiration of such limited time, transmit to the Governor-General and Council the said decree with all the proceedings belonging thereto; provided always that such zemindar, talookdar, or chowdry shall not be ousted or expelled from the possession of such zemindari, talookdari, or other lands except by or in virtue of an order from the Governor-General and Council confirming such decree and ordering and directing the manner in which the same shall be carried into execution, and to whom the possession of such zemindari, talookdari, or other lands shall be delivered; and that it be competent to the Governor-General and Council either to order such decree to be executed or to change or commute such forfeiture for any sum of money which the Governor-General and Council shall decree adequate to the offence for which a decree had been given.

15. That the whole charge and expense of the Dewani Adalat be defrayed through the Sudder Dewani Adalat under the sanction and authority of the Judge of that Court, who is hereby authorized monthly to draw for, and receive from the Khalsa treasury, the amount to be disbursed on this account. That to assist the Judge of the Sudder Dewani Adalat in the additional trouble which will devolve upon him, as well in receiving as in accounting for the several deposit fees before mentioned, and the receipts and disbursements of the charges and expences of the establishment of the Dewani Adalats, he be authorized to appoint a person to act under his direction as accountant and treasurer to the Sudder Dewani Adalat and the several Courts of Dewani Adalat, with a salary of Rs. 1,000 per month, to be assisted with one writer with a salary of Rs. 100 per month, and one sircar with a salary of Rs. 30 per month.—*Revenue Department.*

(A true extract.)

J. BAUGH,
Secretary.

* Extract of the Subsidiary Regulations for the Administration of Civil Justice throughout the Provinces, being the enclosure to a letter from D. Anderson, Samuel Charters, and C. Croftes, to Mr. John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated Calcutta, the 16th April 1781.

APPENDIX No. 2.

Vide Page 12, Chapter I.

Having,* in conformity to the declared design of the late Government, when, as a temporary institution, they established the Provincial Courts, determined now to introduce a more permanent system by committing the charge and administration of the public revenues of these provinces to a committee composed of four covenanted servants of the Company, to be resident at the presidency, we have accordingly resolved to dissolve the Provincial Courts, but that you add the other Collectors of the separate districts do continue in your respective stations during such time as we may think fit.

It is therefore our directions that your official correspondence be henceforth with this new committee, of which we have appointed Mr. David Anderson president, and that you pay the same attention to their orders as if coming immediately from us.

APPENDIX No. 3.

Vide Page 12, Chapter I.

The† Honorable the Governor-General and Council having thought proper to intrust us with the charge and administration of all the public revenues of these provinces, we have this day assembled and entered upon the business of our department.

As the Honorable the Governor-General and Council have also directed that the Provincial Councils should be dissolved, and that the chiefs should remain in the temporary charge of their respective divisions, we desire you will in future correspond with us and transmit us your monthly accounts, according to the established regulations.

APPENDIX No. 4.

Vide Page 12, Chapter I.

1. That the Committee of Revenue, Chiefs, and Collectors, be enjoined to observe the utmost regularity in issuing and enforcing their public orders, and to make it an invariable rule to take notice of all contempt of, or resistance to, the orders issued by them, and punish the persons proved guilty of such offences in such a manner as may not affect the health, life, or limbs of the offenders.

2. That in all cases where the zemindars or landholders are proved on satisfactory evidence taken on oath to have resisted any written process directed to them, they be required, by public advertisement affixed at the head cutcherry of the district, and at the place where they reside, to appear to answer to the complaint within a sufficient specified time under penalty of confiscation of their lands, and that in default of appearance their lands be actually confiscated, and be not restored to them without the express permission of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council, who have reserved to themselves the right of mitigating the sentence..

3. That it has been represented to the Board that the zemindars in many parts of the country are suspected of conniving at robberies and murders; or being parties concerned in such offences, notwithstanding the public regulations, by which they are bound to preserve the peace of the country within the limits of their respective jurisdictions; the committee, chiefs, and Collectors be authorized, on information given, or on well-grounded and general suspicions, to cause such zemindars to be apprehended, and on their apprehension to publish advertisements giving notice thereof, and requiring all persons who have been robbed within their respective zemindaries to appear and give evidence thereof, and in

* *Circular*.—From Warren Hastings and Edward Wheler to Mr. John Pearce, Collector of Midnapore and Jellassore, dated 9th February 1781, Fort William.

† *Circular*.—From the Committee of Revenue, consisting of D. Anderson, John Shore, Samuel Charters, and C. Croftes, to John Pearce, Esq., Collector of Midnapore, dated 20th February 1781, Fort William.

Regulations formed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council, dated 12th August 1783.

case evidence should be produced, that the zemindars be forthwith delivered over to the Foujdari Courts to take their trial, but in case no witness should appear against them, that the zemindars apprehended be released either with or without security, as circumstances may warrant.

4. That wherever a zemindar is proved guilty of having abetted, practised, or connived at robberies or murders, none of his family be permitted to succeed to the zemindari without the express permission of this Board.

5. The Board, desirous to prevent the effusion of blood at the same time that it shall be necessary to maintain the obedience which is due to its authority, direct that in every case where it can be done, a regular summons be served on the person or persons against whom any force shall be detached, or otherwise notified to them, requiring their immediate attendance or such other submission as the nature of the case may require, and warning them of the consequences of their disobedience. But if the case should be of such a nature as will not admit of this precaution, as in the case of previous and declared contumacy, or of intended surprise, if, after such summons, direct resistance be made with arms against the detachment, it shall be in such cases (which must be as specially described as possible) directed to make use of actual force and put to death all such persons as shall continue in arms against it; and in every such instance special care must be taken to cause the leader or instigator of the sedition to be apprehended and brought to public justice, either by immediate pursuit or proclamation of reward for those who shall be the instruments of his apprehension, and denunciation of punishment of those who shall abet or conceal him.

APPENDIX No. 5.

Vide Page 15, Chapter I.

Two cutcherries of justice to be established in each district, the Dewani Adalat and the Foujdari Adalat.

2. Possessions, inheritances, weddings, casts, debts, disputed accounts, trade, partnerships, hire, to be decided by the Dewani Adalat, but its authority not to extend to the inheritances of zemindars and talookdars; their rights to be determined by the Governor and Council. Murders, thefts, forgeries, perjuries, adulteries, all manner of crimes deserving death, and all violences and broils, to come under the cognizance of the Foujdari Adalat.

3. The English Collector to sit in the Dewani Adalat with the Dewan and other officers of the cutcherry on Mondays and Thursdays, and on other days if necessary, and no disputes to be settled but in the public cutcherry.

4. A cauzy and mufty and two moulvies to be chosen to sit in the Foujdari Adalat to explain the laws and determine according thereto how far the criminal is punishable; but the Collector is so far to interpose as to be careful that witnesses be produced and examined, and impartial decisions made according to the evidence. Nothing to be examined or determined but in the public cutcherry.

5. Two similar cutcherries to be established in the capital, Calcutta, one to be called the Sudder Dewani Adalat, and the other the Nizamut Dewani Adalat.

6. Appeals from the mofussil Dewani Adalats to be received in the Sudder Dewani Adalat. Three gentlemen of Council to compose a bench, but as many to sit as may choose it. The Dewan of the Khalsa, the principal canoongos, and the other officers of the cutcherry, to attend.

7. A daroga on the part of the Nazim, the head cauzy and mufty, and three moulvies, to sit in the Nizamut Adalat and revise the proceedings of the Foujdari Adalats. Their confirmation is necessary in capital cases. They will prepare the sentences for the Nizam's orders, which being passed will be issued in the mofussil. The Governor and Council to interpose in this Adalat in the same manner as the Collectors in the mofussil Foujdari Adalats.

8. A separate dewani and foujdari cutcherry to be established in Calcutta on the same plan as those in the mofussil, each to be superintended by a gentleman of Council in rotation.

* Regulations of the Council concerning the Administration of Justice, found amongst the records of 1785 and signed J. Stewart, Secretary.

9. The Collectors must be always ready to receive petitions, and for the greater convenience of the petitioners a box to be placed at the door of the cutcherry, into which they may put their petitions when they please. The Collector to keep the key, and on cutcherry days to take out those petitions and have them read by the arz-beghy.

10. Witnesses to be summoned from the farmers' districts agreeably to the 9th order of the former regulations, but people who are concerned in the revenue not to be summoned in Baudun, Ausin, Augun, and Poos, unless in cases where an immediate examination is necessary.

11. Disputes not exceeding the value of Rs. 10 to be finally decided by the head renter of the pergunnah.

12. The complainant's petition to be read and registered; the defendant to be called upon for an answer by a fixed time; his answer to be read and registered; the parties to be heard by word of mouth; witnesses to be called if necessary; and then a decision to be made. If the defendant evades or delays giving in his answer, the cause to be decided against him.

13. Complete copies of all the judicial proceedings to be kept in the cutcherry. Copies of the decrees signed and sealed by the Collector to be given gratis to the parties. Complete copies of the proceedings to be sent twice a month through the Governor and Council to the Sudder Dewani Adalat.

14. The Collector to keep an abstract of the proceedings in English, specifying the names of the plaintiff and defendant, the substance of the dispute and of the decision, the dates of the receipt of the petition and of the decision; and this abstract also to be forwarded twice a month to the Sudder Dewani Adalat.

15. No dispute to be heard of above twelve years. Persons who, through litigiousness, leave one cutcherry and go to another must be punished or fined.

16. The chout, dussutha, patchootra, and all other customs on money recovered, itlauc on the decisions, and all kinds of heavy and unauthorized fines, to be totally and for ever abolished.

17. The Courts of Justice may punish litigiousness and evasions by fines not exceeding Rs. 5, and inflict corporal punishments not exceeding 20 strokes with a rattan.

18. Old debts to be caused to be paid by a kistbundee without interest. The following rates of interest to be in future observed in the settling of debts, whether before or since incurred, viz.—

On sums not exceeding Rs. 100	...	...	...	Rs. 3-2 per month.
On sums above Rs. 100	...	...	...	„ 2 „

Compound interest arising from adjusting the account within the time not to be admitted. If the interest bargained for in a bond should be more than the rates abovementioned, it shall be excused altogether. If the regulation shall be attempted to be evaded by any kind of deduction from the principal, the whole shall be forfeited: half shall go to the Government and half to the debtor.

19. All bonds to be signed and sealed in the presence of two witnesses.

20. Creditors must not of themselves exercise an authority over their debtors, but must apply for redress to the cutcherry.

21. In disputes of houses, land, limits, and such other matters as require a local investigation, an ameen should be appointed with the consent of the parties. If they cannot agree upon the same person, let one be appointed on behalf of each, and the Collector will decide after examining the sooruthaul of each. The Collector to limit the time and the expense which is to be defrayed by the party that is cast.

22. In disputed accounts, &c., the Collector to advise the parties to choose arbitrators, and their decision will be as valid as that of the Dewani Adalat. He must also endeavour to persuade creditable people to become arbitrators, but must not force anybody. They must not take any fees.

23. Inheritances, marriages, castes, and other religious matters to be invariably decided according to the Mussulman laws where Mussulmen are concerned, and according to the Shaster where Hindoos are concerned. The Moulvies and Brahmins are in these cases to give a written declaration of the law.

24. In matters not exceeding Rs. 500 the decrees of the mofussil Dewani Adalat are to be final. In matters exceeding that sum an appeal may be made to the Sudder Adalat.

25. The officers of the cutcherry to give to the person whose right is proved either a reasonable fixed sum in lieu of charges, or the full amount of them, by an examination of his demand.

26. Those who appeal to the Sudder Adalat through a spirit of litigiousness shall be punished at the discretion of the Court, by being made to pay considerable charges to the defendant for his trouble and expense.

27. Complete proceedings to be kept in the Foujdari Adalat; copies to be sent twice a month through the Council to the Nizamut and Sudder Adalat, and copies of capital cases to be sent besides immediately at the conclusion of the trial.

28. The Collectors to keep an English abstract of the proceedings, specifying the name of the criminal, the accusation, and the sentence, and to transmit copies twice a month.

29. The mofussil foujdari courts may fine, imprison, employ on the roads, and inflict corporal punishments, but not put to death. Capital cases must be referred to the Sudder, and thence to the Nazim, as mentioned in the 7th instant.

30. Fines to be imposed for slight offences in cases in which on account of the rank, caste, or employment of the offenders corporal punishment would not be proper, but more than Rs. 100 must not be collected without the confirmation of the Sudder, to which the circumstances must be referred.

31. The confiscation of the effects of criminals punished with death must be determined by the Sudder Nizamut Adalat, for which purpose a list of the effects must be transmitted with the trial.

32. The collecting of the foujdari bazy jumma having been forbidden, offences in this respect are to be tried by the Foujdari Adalat, but no further punishment to be inflicted than stripes or imprisonment, or a recompense to the oppressed.

33. Cauzies and mufties having been granted wages by the Government are in future to attest papers and to perform their offices at weddings, &c., without fees, but they may receive any presents which may be voluntarily given them. If any one should break this regulation, he must be dismissed with ignominy.

34. As the office for regulating weights has of late fallen into disuse, it is in future to be executed by two naibs of the cauzy and mufty, who will for this purpose be appointed in each adalat; and these are to be so stationed by the Collectors that the ryots may not have above a day's journey to get to them.

35. Dacoits to be carried to their own village to undergo their punishment, their families to be made slaves, and the inhabitants of the village to be fined.

36. Thanadars and pykes who neglect their duty to be dismissed or fined; and those who exert themselves in protecting the villages and seizing robbers, &c., to be recompensed by money or land or some other reward.

37. The Collectors to lay before the Committee of Circuit any other regulations they may judge useful in their districts; particularly they are to fix the fees of peons and pykes employed in the two courts, and establish such rates and penalties that none of them may take any other gratuities from the parties.

27th September 1785.

APPENDIX No. 6.

Vide Page 15, Chapter I.

The Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council having this day fixed* the rate of commission to be allowed to you and all the other collectors in addition to your salaries, I am commanded by the Board to communicate their sentiments and resolutions to you in a particular address.

The income which is now annexed to your station is liberal, and such as, with a prudent economy, ought to provide a fund for your necessary expenses as well as a recompense for your services; to furnish supplies for heedless extravagance is what no Government can nor ought to do. It is with particular satisfaction that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has passed resolutions removing every temptation to infringe those obligations, which your duty to the Company and the prescriptions of the law have equally imposed, and the observance of which it is his Lordship's fixed determination invariably to enforce.

* From John Duncan, Secretary to the Council Chamber, Revenue Department, to John Peiarce, Collector of Midnapore, dated the 18th July 1787.

The very extensive influence which you derive from your different offices of Collector, Judge, and Magistrate affords you the opportunity of widely promoting the public good and the Company's advantage; and this consideration alone will, he trusts, have the same influence upon your conduct with the most solemn restrictions or minute regulations. An abuse of this power, either actual or by connivance on your part, will be productive of consequences highly prejudicial to the Company and to the country. Reward has now been annexed to responsibility, and no occasion, it is to be presumed, will ever occur to render the infliction of the penalties attending a breach of it necessary.

By the public regulations you are restricted from the exercise of any trade, either directly or indirectly; but the general prosperity of the provinces requires that the internal trade should receive from you all the encouragement and protection you can give it. You are not from this to understand that any individual, either European or native, is to avail himself either of your name or influence for the assistance of his private commerce. This would indeed be a perversion of the orders of Government; and your own character requires the utmost caution on your part that no person really or apparently connected with you should desire any influence from such a connection to the advantage of his own concerns and to the prejudice of the trade in general, which must be a natural consequence of it. The Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council has indeed particularly directed me to signify to you that he shall deem any Collector unfit for the office he holds who should prove unable to prevent the operation of the influence of his station in favour of those connected with him. The trade of a country can no longer prosper than whilst the protection of Government is generally bestowed upon all concerned in it, and in this sense the orders of the Board must be received and understood. The spirit of this order further implies the necessity on your part of punishing, as far as the powers vested in you admit, any infringement of it, either in the persons in office under you or connected with you; and if any attempt should be made either by persons under this description or others, whom you do not suppose yourself authorized to coerce or punish, your duty requires you to state the circumstances to the Governor-General in Council, that the interposition of his authority may correct the evils which your own power is incompetent to redress.

And finally, I am directed to inform you, with respect to the regulations in general prescribed for your conduct, that your continuance in office will depend upon a due observance of them, and that the approbation of the Board will be freely bestowed wherever it is merited.

APPENDIX No. I.

Vide Page 28, Chapter II.

A comparative statement of the Relative Annual Value of the Hon'ble Company's possessions and those of the Mahrattas.

West side of the Suburnrekha, belonging to the Company.

Pergunnahs, &c.	Zemindars, &c.	Tashkis jumma.	Relative value.
	<i>Chakla Midnapore.</i>	Rs.	Rs.
Nyabussaun, &c., in thana Janpore	Rajabunje, Ragonaut Byon	6,000	10,000
Ghatsila	Jagarnauth Dhur	4,000	7,000
	<i>Chakla Jellasure.</i>		
Thana Futteabad	Gory Bullub Roy	1,062	1,700
Ghur Fullaratah			
„ Burdeah			
„ Roybunneah			
Janpore, &c., eight villages, Havillee Jellasure	Pertaub Narain Chowdry, &c.	500	275
Belorachour	Jugut Churn Chowdhry, &c.	2,019	4,500
	Total	13,581	23,475

* It is to be observed that this revenue cannot be realized during the disputes between the Moharbhunje Rajah and the zemindars of Belorachour.

East side of the Suburnrekha, belonging to the Mahrattas.

Pergunnahs, &c.				Zemindars, &c.	Tashkis jumma. Rs.	Relative value. Rs.
Bogray	...	...	...	Bridjoo Kishore Chowdry, Talookdars	.....	.....
Caumerda	...	...	...	{ Maun Govind Chowdry	6,896.	13,500
				{ Ootchevanundund Chowdry		
				{ Bridjoonundund Chowdry		
Pataspore	...	...	...	{ Bridjoo Kishore Chowdry, &c., Talookdars	23,808	46,000
				{ Bridjoo Kishore Chowdry		
				{ Ram Narain Chowdry, &c., Talookdars		
Shawbunder, 12 annas	...	...	...	{ Kishen Churn Roy	2,000	5,500
				{ Ram Churn Putloic, &c., Talookdars		
				{ Gungaram Chowdry		
Kismut Lapoo, village Dekooah	...	...	...	Ditto Ootersaary	150	300
Depah, Keerchund, &c., 35 villages	...	...	...	Kishen Churn Chowdry	150	200
Duccan Dumboor village	...	...	...	Ootchevanundund Chowdry	300	600
Necra Marra village	...	...	...	Ragonat Buyon	20	80
Binnapore, &c.	...	...	...	Ditto	20	150
Ulserpore	...	...	...	Ditto	140	1,000
				Ditto	20	50
Total					38,801	75,860

JELLASORE,
The 2nd August 1782.

T. CHOLLET.

APPENDIX No. II.

Vide Page 28, Chapter II.

I have received your favour of the 14th instant,* enclosing a duplicate of yours of the 7th May. My long residence at Calcutta during the latter period was the cause of my not having given you the information then.

Of the lands belonging to the Company lying on the western side of the river Suburnrekha, and beginning at its southern extremity, are Cauntipaul, &c., thirteen villages or mojas belonging to the pergunnah of Lamporehour, which pergunnah lies about the spot called Pipley in Major Rennel's map. The hustabood jumma or mojudaud of the thirteen villages is about three thousand rupees; there is no distinct sudder jumma of these villages, which, with the rest of the pergunnah, belong principally to Asaram Chowdry.

Belonging to the pergunnah of Jellasure are four small villages in the west of the Suburnrekha belonging to the Jellasure Chowdry, and affording him a mojudaud of about Rs. 300. These and the aforementioned thirteen villages lie southerly of Bilorachar, a pergunnah wholly situated on the western side of the Suburnrekha, nearly opposite to Jellasure Patna in Rennel's map by Dury, Multanny, Rajegaut, * and * therein mentioned, are villages belonging to ** east to west about four koss, and from north to south about five ** and belongs to two zemindars, Jugul Churn and Buctanund Anuntram, Canoongoe Velayty, and Sevoeram, a talookdar. The medium tashkis for the last ten years was Rs. 1,802, but for the present year the tashkis is Rs. 2,019. The mojudaud, or mofussil hustabood jumma, may be about Rs. 6,000.

Thana Futteabad, about a koss north-west of Jellasure and about a koss north of the boundary of Bilorichar. It is on the western side of the river, and consists of three ghurs, or country forts, their dependencies, viz. Fulloota, Burdea, and Roybunnea, the last whereof is only put down by Rennel. The medium tashkis for ten years was Rs. 905 and for the present year is Rs. 1,062. Gorybullub Roy, brother to the Sudder Canoongo of Jellasure, was appointed zemindar by Mr. George Vansittart about 1768. The mojudaud may be about Rs. 2,500.

* From the Collector to Mr. Duncan, Preparer of Reports to the Revenue Department, dated Midnapore, the 24th August 1782.

Nyabussaun is one of the pergunnahs in the western jungles forming the thana Janpore; the Mohurbhunge Rajah is the zemindar. It is situated partly on the west and partly on the east of the river; the extent, about three koss east to west, and about six from north to south, is very woody. The medium tashkis for the last years was Rs. 5,324, and for the present year is Rs. 5,293. The mojudaud jumma, agreeably to the papers delivered to my tokedar by the Rajah's naib, was Rs. 6,015, arising from Deemrar, Gopaulnapore, &c., 35 villages on the south-west side of the river, and from Janpore, &c., 21 villages on the north-east side, the former share valued at Rs. 3,252 and the latter Rs. 2,763. But I should suppose the hustabood jumma altogether about Rs. 10,000. Still further north are the pergunnahs of Ghatsila and Barabhum; the former is called Dalboom in Rennel's, and belonging to Juggarnath Dhal, the zemindar, whose present tashkis is mocrurrer, or fixed at Rs. 4,000. The country from Narsingarh to Haldipukhur on the west of the river, and from Coarjeah to Allyapudna, is extensive, but of little value on account of the hills and thick jungles.

Respecting the Mahratta lands on the east side of the river there is in the centre of our districts a large pergunnah called Pataspore in Rennel's map by Dury. The lands are very fine and rich **; the extent from north to south is about four koss, and about three from east to west. Birjoo Kishore is the zemindar, whose tashkis is about Rs. 3,500 ***; the mojudaud or hustabood jumma may be about Rs. 7,000*; is surrounded by the Company's pergunnahs of both Midnapore and Jellasure chakla.

On the southern extremity of the Suburnrekha lie the two pergunnahs of Bogray and Cammerdau, about six koss south-east of Jellasure, adjoining to our pergunnahs of Kakrchar and Bircool. Moispore in Rennel's is a village in Cammerdau. The extent of these pergunnahs from east to west is about two koss and from north to south about three koss. There is much jungle here; the revenue about Rs. * * payable at Balasore. The mojudaud may be about Rs. 8,000. The whole is on the east side of the river. The estimated hustabood value of the Company's lands as above being only about Rs. 17,200 on the western side of the river, and of the Mahratta lands on the eastern side about Rs. 78,000.

Accompanying, sir, I beg leave to send you a copy of my former inquiries into the claims made by the Mohurbhunge Rajah upon some lands in the pergunnah of Bilorichar.

APPENDIX No. 4.

Vide Page 34, Chapter II.

Soubah of Orissa.

The* chakla of Midnapore, bounded on the east and north by the districts of Hidjellee, Burdwan, Bishenpore, and Pachete, in Bengal; on the south and west partly by the sea of Balasore, but chiefly by the river Suburnrekha, which empties itself there near Pipley, and from the western hills separates the whole chakla in those quarters from the zemindari of Mohurbhunge, dependent entirely on Cuttack, except for an inconsiderable tribute to the Company on account of two or three pergunnahs beyond the described limits. It contains 6,102 British square miles in all its dimensions of jungly or cultivated plains in 56 pergunnahs composing the remainder of * * * * *

CIRCARS.

1. Goalpara, consisting altogether originally of mehals 28 rated.....6,83,218, from which had been dismembered the pergunnahs of Tumlook, Bugree, Raipore, and Soohent, or a dependency of Chatna 4—127784 remains to Midnapore 24 rated 5,55,433.

2. Jellasure, originally of 22 mehals, as already stated, but with the dismemberments of Meergoda, Pataspore, &c., to Hidjellee and Balasore, was reduced with other deductions to whole and broken pergunnahs 18—3,06,507.

* Extract from an analysis of the finances of Bengal, &c., delivered into the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, Secret Department, on the 30th June 1787.

3. * * * * *
 4. Muscoory, originally 11 mehals, dismembered of Bircool, Balshai, Shabunder, and Bhogray, was reduced to 7—163574.

Total of the Ausil jumma of chakla Midnapore, 56, valued... Rs. 11,43,878
 Deduct possessions anciently left to the zemindars, 9 ... ,, 1,10,221
 Taskhis Toomauj jumma, or neat standard revenue A.D.
 1707, mehals 47 ,, 10,33,657

The Aumily Velayty or Fussilee year of Orissa, as well as of Behar, should begin at the autumnal equinox, now happening on the 25th of September, but the year of account closed the 30th of April, being adopted in all the published statements to be recurred to for drawing out a comparative view of the gross and neat collections of Midnapore in a cycle of 19 years of the Company's administration; so in conformity to the general plan hitherto followed, we shall take that period from the 1st of May 1765 to the same day 1784, stating only the medium result for every six years, inexclusive of the first jumabundee, which is to be considered the original standard of the annual settlement concluded with the zemindars.

1st year, 1173 or 1765-66. The neat demand on the country			*	*
Rs.			Sicca Rs.	
Gross receipts ...	8,67,064	} Was fixed at 8,22,083		
Charges ...	57,022			
Neat ...	81,004			
" ...	7,60,103	} First medium of six years from 1st May 1766 to 30th April 1772.		
" ...	38,493			
" ...	7,21,610			
" ...	8,57,061	} Second medium of six years from 1st May 1772 to 30th April 1778.		
" ...	1,06,614			
" ...	7,50,447			
" ...		} Third medium of six years from 1st May 1778 to 30th April 1784.		
" ...				
" ...				

From the foregoing statement it ought to be supposed that the portion of Orissa now in question under British rule having fallen so much short of the standard revenue of 1707 had been, in common with the Mahratta division, greatly on the decline * * * * *

APPENDIX No. 1.

Vide Page 57, Chapter III.

MR. FERGUSSON'S LETTERS (1767.)

Derhwa, February 3rd, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

* * * I have had no direct answer as yet from the Jargong fellow.

* * * The Colianpore zemindar has made his appearance here, and I am told by them that there is no settlement necessary with him, as he attends at Midnapore. This evening also I had a solem from Goupenet Moratta and two of his sons, one of which has been with me this two days, and his other three sons come to-morrow: I returned them all pane. I received all the things mentioned before our setting out last night, and I cut a very deputy-like figure in the evenings. The bread also I had last night.

With most grateful heart and sincere regard, I am of you and family a most earnest well-wisher,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

Jargong Fort, February 17th.

DEAR SIR,

* * * I think Kyd's letter overbalances Maxwell's. Your opening of my letter, or any of mine, would require no apology, for from you it would be a piece of freedom that would give me pleasure, as knowing that it would be to satisfy your friendly curiosity in something regarding my advantage; if this displeases you, scratch it out, for I was dreaming when I wrote, considering so late a caveat. With best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and children, and compliments to gentlemen, with real regard,

I am, dear sir, your earnest well-wisher and humble servant,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

Camp in Bulrampore Thana, February 11th 1767.

DEAR SIR,

* * * These people all plead poverty, and make such delay that there is some difficulty to keep patience with them, yet I am the most stately man in world, and do keep mine hitherto more than I thought myself capable of. * * * We have in attendance at present the Jambunie, who has at last got over the hundred rupees he stuck so long at. We have not absolutely settled, but I believe that he cannot afford to give a courie above 700 Alah Sicca rupees. * * * There are also the two Tanna zemindars and the Jatbunie, who looks something like a gentleman. All his ryots, instead of running away like the others, came in a body petitioning to see their master, as they called me, which I indulged them in by going out of the limits of the encampment, where they were. I was saluted with a general salam and huzza from the others, to all of whom in this Tanna we have dispatched perwana. * * * The zemindar of Sankacoolia has been talked to on the subject. He says he'd do what he can, and if that don't please us he will give up his pergunna to any other who will take it on our terms. I really think, from what I saw of the country, that he cannot be in the same flourishing situation which his forefathers were in, if I may judge from Tawour Mull's Tuxcem jumma. Bulrampore Tanna, February 14th (in a postscript).— * * * I cannot omit mentioning here the liberal supply of bread which arrives daily, as also that this day I dined on one of the best bacon hams ever I tasted. * * * I have got with me two of your harraras still over and above my own four. Your two are worth fifty of my fellows, whom, if I had not paid advance, I should certainly have made beldars of, they knowing nothing at all. However, they assist to fill up a vacancy in our stately processions.

*Bulrampore Thana, the 16th February,
at night, to be dispatched at daybreak.*

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of addressing you on the 11th, 14th, and on the 15th by a peon who brings you some wild beasts. * * * I hope you will be so good as order the cutwall to send us three or four washermen, we that is the sepoys and camp adherents, being much distressed for want; we also want a reinforcement of ten quires Bengalee paper for the cugerie chirz, for my moon-shees hold court twice a day. * * *

Bulrampore Thana, the 19th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

* * * By later intelligence we are informed that Damudar Sing has joined this Gatseelawalla, as also some other petty princes in his neighbourhood. If so, it will only increase our laurels, for I have confidence in my troops, nor can I see how a parcel of naked, ill-fed, undisciplined savages can stand against disciplined troops, though far inferior. But as my aversion to making brave fellows, for so I hope mine are, suffer by exposing themselves in

disadvantageous circumstances as that of ground, &c., I have been revolving in my mind how to lessen this evil as much as the service will admit of. * * * A poor fellow with a gun-shot wound I took the freedom of advising to go to Midnapore for assistance. This I did from political as well as charitable motives, to convince those people as well of our humanity as of the various advantages which accrue from an intercourse with us. * * * My people having this day represented to me that as I leave this and they along with me, that a careful person was necessary in the style of tannadar. I accordingly have constituted a tannadar, and a nobisinda of Bulrampore this day out of Chundum Dass's retinue to collect the rents, &c., in my absence. I hope this step is not improper. This latter part I wrote with my Council beside me, though I am sorry to say that in the transactions of so polite a court a few barbarous expressions should be interspersed, such as pagun, nobisinda, &c. You will overlook, I hope, this little vein of gaiety, as it gives me much spirits to have hitherto acted so satisfactorily to the person I am so desirous to please, and that, too, in the course of my public duty, that I can't contain myself entirely. However, as my success has been totally owing to the fullness and propriety of your instructions and advices, I shall particularly make it my business to adhere to them as the only circumstance in which I can challenge to myself any merit on the occasion. * * * Offering my best wishes and respect to Mrs. Graham and children, and compliments to the gentlemen, I always am, with real esteem and regard,

Dear sir, your earnest well-wisher and servant,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

Camp near Suphur, February 22nd, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

* * * I informed you in my last of the Suphur, Ameynuggur, and Mhan Boroon zemindars having sent people to make submission in their names at Bulrampore; these people I dismissed with paun to their respective masters. * * * On our arrival at Ghooreapara the zemindar paid us a very good attendance; but next day, on our arriving at Hildabunnee, whither he went with us, he took a French leave of *sans ceremonie*.

At Ghooreapara arrived our peons from Chutna with a letter from the zemindars, complaining heavily of five companies of sepoys who are encamped in his neighbourhood, saying he cannot possibly *milcurrow* or *bundbustcurrow* while they are there, as his people have all left their houses and gone into the jungle. But by the intelligence of the peons this letter is only a mere pretext, as there is very good discipline kept in that sepoy camp, and none of them go near this zemindar or country, they remaining on the Pachete Rajah's side. * * * Having no news at all to be depended on from my people sent to Barah Boioon, I this morning dispatched people with another perwana, putting him in mind how long he had had the former, warning him immediately to attend here, otherwise threatening him with military execution. * * * With best respects and wishes for Mrs. Graham and children, and compliments to the gentlemen, I am, with real regard,

Dear sir, your earnest well-wisher and humble servant,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

Jambunie, 17th March, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

* * * Govindram Buxie, who I look on as a good soldier, has retained near 200 of his people besides 33 horse, Cartickram 20. Goupenets' people have increased to 50 to-day, Collianpore to 50, Mogul Roy with 150 men attends me of his own accord and likely to get in favour, the Jambunie zemindar attends us with 100 men; these two neighbours of the Gatsela zemindar being his natural enemies and of long standing, I do not doubt will take this opportunity of gratifying their revenge. * * * Now, as I am clear in my own breast that neither motives

of interest nor ambition sway me in the resolution I have at present taken, but that I have acted on mature deliberation, you, who always have been my friend, will, I am sure, on this occasion be my advocate to the world if the event should render my judgment or discretion suspected. * * * The deep impression which that warm style in your letters make on me it would be in vain to attempt to express; this, however, I must add, that I am conscious to myself of daily applying to the supreme source of all good for the success and prosperity of yourself and family. With my best respect to Mrs. Graham and children, I am, with real regard,

Dear sir, your earnest well-wisher,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

To JOHN GRAHAM, Esq.

Gatseela Fort, March 28th, 1767.

SIR,

My addressing you on this occasion is in consequence of a letter of Mr. Graham's bearing date the 21st instant, which I have this day received, desiring that after the 24th you should be addressed on all public subjects, as you by that time would have the charge of the province. Permit me, sir, before I enter on the head of business, though a stranger to your person, to congratulate you on this occasion, and to offer my best wishes that you may be happy and successful. Allow me also to hope that if (as shall be my constant endeavour) my conduct while under you should be suitable to your sentiments, that you will bestow on me some share of that favour which I so amply experienced under Mr. Graham. * * * The only distress which we feel here is sympathy for the few of us who suffered in the different skirmishes, whom I would willingly send to Midnapore could I do it without a strong detachment, as I have neither medicine nor time to attend them properly myself. Provision, that is rice, dal, and salt, we have sufficient for 12 months, but all the ghee was burnt in the general conflagration we found the fort in, and which we could not extinguish for want of water.

I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

To GEORGE VANSITTART, Esq.

*Dated**

SIR,

* * * A journal of my proceedings I have up to this day, but my compass went wrong the second day's march to this fort, I having it in my hand to observe our course when the enemy set on us, and my needle, from the firing I think it must be, flew of its axis. This will in future make me very imperfect in the course, and the want of a set of mathematical instruments renders me incapable of making charts.

Gatseela Fort, 9th April 1767.

SIR,

* * * On this occasion I took on me to present the new Rajah a horse, sword * * * and several other things that are usual. I also gave a little phillie in a present to an old Bamun, who is a considerable man among the ryots * * * Amongst the deposed Rajah's effects there were four horses and three mares. One horse and one mare I gave as above; of what remains, one is tolerable, and I should wish to keep, the rest either are or border on tattoos * * * I am, with regard,

Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

J. FERGUSSON.

* Written apparently in March in Gatseela.

Bulrampore, 13th April 1767.

SIR,

I wait not to write on any other subject, but to add that I am ready with your orders to defend Patchait against the Nabob and all his forces, not to say an upstart Foujdar.

With regard, I am, sir, your most obedient,

J. FERGUSSON.

Bulrampore, 29th May 1767.

SIR,

I have great reason to be satisfied on the score of my recovery, as though I have the fever the whole day, it incommodes me little, I having a tolerable appetite and moderate sleep. Permit me to offer you a fine cyrus, which the doctor tells me is the only animal you care for, otherwise I should have sent some others.

With regard, I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. FERGUSSON.

TO GEORGE VANSITTART, ESQ.

Bulrampore, 21st June 1767.

SIR,

My FEVER (which obliged me to address you for several days in the Persian language,) having now left me, I take the first opportunity of acquainting you; and I request that anything in these letters which may seem to border too much on freedom may be forgiven, particularly my applying to you for a dhye, for my own distress and hers together operating on me at the same time, and she being void of help after several fruitless attempts to get one by means of sircars, &c., I thought it best to apply to you, as your orders would have an immediate effect. I being very weak request five days' respite, in which time I hope to be able to bring up any business that is behind.

I always am, with regard, sir, your most obedient servant,

J. FERGUSSON.

TO GEORGE VANSITTART, ESQ.

APPENDIX No. 1.

Vide Page 94, Chapter IV.

In the time* of the Nabobs the canoongo received, by way of mahtoot, from the zemindars Rs. 10,000. In 1173, when Mr. Verelst was supervisor, he came to Midnapore to make the settlement in conjunction with Mr. Graham, the then Resident. These gentlemen made many resummptions of charges and allowances that had formerly attended the collections of these revenues, to the amount of Rs. 1,02,000, which they brought to the credit of the tashkis; amongst other articles, the above amount of Rs. 10,000, canoongo's russoom, was included. In lieu of which a commutation was made to him of Rs. 7,400 yearly, to be paid to him from the treasury as a servant of Government, for the maintenance of himself, his naibs, mutsadies, &c., belonging to the canoongo dufter. This russoom has been received by him distinctly and exclusively from his nankar and dustore till the year 1179, when all these three articles were sequestered along with the nankar, russoom, &c., of the other zemindars in Bengal. But when the russoom was delivered up to the other canoongos, it was still kept back from the canoongos of Midnapore and Jellasure.

* Extract from a letter from the Collector, to the Secretary of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated Midnapore, the November 1777.

APPENDIX No. 2.

Vide Page 94, Chapter IV.

The peculiar hardship of the canoongos of Midnapore and Jellalore* with regard to their russoom, which throughout the other provinces of Bengal were yearly drawn from the lands and kept as a deposit, claims the justice of the Honorable Board. The russoom of the Midnapore canoongos has been disbursed from the treasury ever since the time Mr. Verelst abolished its collection from the districts and added it to the jumma. The fact is, the Company by Mr. Verelst's arrangement did give the canoongos a salary to compensate them for the right of which they were deprived by the act of that gentleman—the right of collecting a certain cess from the country for themselves under the denomination of russoom for defraying the charges of their establishments. This salary or establishment ceased to be paid to them of course upon the order which generally directed the detention of the russoom of all the canoongos of Bengal, which evinces that the salary was an equivalent for the russoom, and depended on an acknowledgment of that right. It certainly rests with Government to make any exception it judges proper from a general rule, but this I do not apprehend to be the intention of Government in the present instances. In this persuasion alone I venture to bring the subject again before your Honorable Board, in desiring your positive orders in what manner I am to answer the reiterated applications of these men, who will not be persuaded that your justice will deny them a right they hold in common, and from which they only are excluded, if I had actually, as I have often assured them, I had addressed your Honorable Board on their pretensions, whether I shall tell them that the benefit the Company have derived by the nonpayment of their russoom and above the current revenue is to be restored them, or whether the salary in future only from the termination of the year 1184 or committee settlement is to be paid to them. If the latter only, it would save me from much vexatious application if I could procure them an order under the seal of the Khalsa limiting me to such a line of conduct.

APPENDIX No. 3.

Vide Page 94, Chapter IV.

Formerly† this part of the country was overrun with chuars or thieves, and being a frontier and in the vicinity of jungles, was subject to many invasions and depredations, and the zemindars always fighting amongst themselves. In consequence of these troubles and the soubadars frequently changed, there was no fixed or moocurrur sheristah, or regular account kept of the revenues. Wherefore it was thought expedient by the Sultan Ackbar, when he deputed Torul Mull to make the settlement here, to institute the office of canoongo purposely to keep an account of the collections or wassool of the settlement that had been made, and the pergunnah and kachari charges; likewise a statement of the balances that might accrue; and to report the causes thereof, whether from the chuars or the zemindars quarrelling amongst themselves, or absconding into the jungles, or amongst their frontier neighbours. Such was simply and originally, as I understand, the origin and duty of the canoongo's office here. For the support of the office of the Midnapore canoongo, as appears from the back of the first sunnud granted at its institution, there were 55 villages settled as nankar. The comaul jumma or jumma of that period was about Rs. 2,040, as appears from the tuxcem papers of the pergunnah in which the nankars are; of these 55 villages, one was resumed in Mr. Johnson's time. Besides this, the canoongo of Midnapore collects a dustore from the different pergunnahs of Rs. 6,200 yearly, and a russoom of Rs. 7,400 a year, payable from the treasury, and the payment of which was lately suspended. In addition to this they have at sundry times procured from

* Extract from a letter from J. Pejarce to the Honorable Warren Hastings, Governor-General, and Members of Council, Fort William, dated Calcutta, the 15th November 1778.

† Extract from a letter from the Collector to John Shore, Esq., President, and Member of the Revenue Board, dated Midnapore, the 17th January 1788.

several zemindars 37 villages The Jellasure canoongo possesses 13 villages as ancient nankar, the comaul jumma Rs. 845-12-0. In addition to this he has procured at sundry times from the zemindars 28 villages. The dustore he collects from the pergunnahs is Rs. 1,210 yearly, and his russoom, paid from the treasury, until lately suspended, was yearly Rs. 2,080. From the Bengal papers delivered in by the canoongo, and make a packet herewith, you will perceive they have stated, exclusive of their dustore and russoom, the amount of their nankar and villages to be, viz. Midnapore canoongo 91 villages containing 24,614 beeghas, yielding annually, agreeable to jummas stated by them, Rs. 14,792-3. And of the Jellasure canoongos 41 villages containing 5,067 beeghas, yielding a comaul jumma of Rs. 1,880-12, after deducting 1,006 beeghas lately resumed as baze zemin. The real quantity of beeghas held by the canoongos cannot well be ascertained without a hustabood; but I have reason to suppose the quantity much more considerable than is specified by them in their Bengal accounts. Because the Superintendent of the bazy zemin lands, when here, suspecting the like, brought it to proof by hustbooding the nankar of Jerry maldah, belonging to the Midnapore canoongo, and which turned out 14 beeghas more than the account delivered in by him, stating it to contain only 3,698-2 beeghas. I do not find that the canoongo's gomastas or mohurirs in the mofussil have received any lands from their principals as mohteraun; but their allowances were generally separately charged upon the pergunnahs (they keeping the jumma wassool account) till such time as I forbid it in 1194 in the Midnapore chackla. In Cossijorah the Midnapore canoongo did procure from Jeetnarain, the then zemindar and grand-uncle to the present, 299-8 beeghas of lands as mohteraun for his gomastaships, &c., there; but this mohteraun the present canoongo, Rajnarain, having taken out a sunnud from the Bazy Zemin Office, has appropriated it to himself. The canoongos possess no sunnuds I believe from the Bengal Nabobs, except one, which the Midnapore canoongo has of Jaffer Ally Khan's, and in this no notice is taken of any nankar, russoom, or dustore. In 1173, when Messrs. Verelst and Graham made the settlement, they made many resummptions, amongst others the allowances granted to the canoongos by the zemindar, and in lieu thereof settled as russoom Rs. 7,400 yearly on the Midnapore canoongo, and Rs. 2,080 on the Jellasure one. In 1179 the canoongo's dufter was removed quite, the nankar and russoom taken away, and thus continued till 1181, when it was restored along with the nankar, and a dustore settled to be paid from the zemindars yearly; to the Midnapore canoongo Rs. 6,200, and to the Jellasure canoongo Rs. 1,210. But the payment of the russoom was withheld from both the canoongos until the year 1186, when they were again allowed to draw it. The canoongo's office is properly a record of the settlements, viz. the collections, disbursements, and balances. They are not possessed of any of the minute detail of the lands, or their mofussil jaydauds or jumma. They take an account of wassool or collections as paid by the farmers at the zemindar's cutcherry, and of the wassool as paid by the ryots into the talookdar's cutcherry. What is separately collected by the zemindars or farmers they have no note of. There are no papers to be found in the canoongo's office relative to the hustabood or mofussil jumma of any of the mehals, except in instances where the Collectors had instituted a hustabood of any particular pergunnah, or held any place khas; then the canoongo's mohurrirs, being on the spot, would take the opportunity of keeping copies with the ameen and depositing them in their sheristas. The canoongo's sherista is called the wassool sherista, and even this they do not keep in some of the larger zemindari mehals. The zemindars and talookdars are in general the only persons in possession of the actual survey and moojedauds of their own mehals. As anarchy, an unsettled and lawless Government, has now given place to a regular well-settled and well-disciplined one, and since the Company's accession a mocrurir sherista has been kept at the sudder cutcherry of the Collectors, where the jumma wassool kurch baukee, and such local surveys as have been made, are kept. This change of circumstances has rendered the canoongo's office a burden without any use, excepting serving as depositories for copies of those papers that are kept in the sudder cutcherry of the Collectors, and, like most of those old institutions of no further utility, may be abolished in my opinion with great advantage to the Company by a resumption of the lands, dustore, and russoom; as was the case in an institution established at the same period by Torul Mull, and proceeding from the same cause, an unsettled and lawless Government, and this was the establishment of sirdars fixed at thana Narrangarh to prevent

depredations and keep in awe refractory zemindars, three sirdars were appointed; and for the maintenance of a proper force of pykes, &c., under them, had a certain quantity of lands assigned from eight pergunnahs as jaghirs under the denomination of Bloom Jaun and Batty tackey. This office being found useless was abolished in Mr. Burdett's time, and thereby an increase of Rs. 1,600 added to the revenues.

APPENDIX No. 1.

Vide Page 158, Chapter VII.

AN ABSTRACT OF ANNUAL EXPENSE AT MIDNAPORE FACTORY.

From November 1763 to October 1764, inclusive.

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Charges, Midnapore Factory—			
This head contains all the charges of the Factory for these 12 months (the charges of the collections excepted), and comprehends the workmen's wages employed in building the Fort, the cost of materials, petty charges, &c. The amount as collected from the monthly accounts is...	69,736	11	3
Chunam and Jaggree dadney—			
The amount of the advances for these articles collected also from the monthly accounts ...	12,091	2	9
			81,827 14 0

From November 1764 to October 1765, inclusive.

Pay, &c., allowances to the covenanted servants—			
Mr. Watt's way charges from Calcutta ...	540	0	0
„ Fenwick's ditto ditto ...	108	0	0
„ Hatley's ditto to Calcutta ...	108	0	0
		756	0 0
Charges, Midnapore Factory—			
Comprehending the expenses recited above ...	33,902	0	3
Charges general—			
This forms a separate head from May 1765, and the amount is ...	6,026	6	6
		30,928	6 9
			40,684 6 9

N.B.—In this year's accounts the expenses of Jaggree and chunam is included under the foregoing heads.

From November 1765 to July 1766, inclusive.

Pay, &c., allowances to the covenanted servants—			
Mr. Watt's way charges to Calcutta ...	540	0	0
„ Fenwick's ditto ditto ...	108	0	0
„ Graham's ditto from Calcutta ...	540	0	0
		1,188	0 0
Charges, Midnapore Factory—			
Comprehends, as in the preceding year, and amounts to...	17,798	15	0
Charges general—			
Comprehends, as in the preceding year, and amounts to...	8,455	3	9
		26,254	2 9
			27,442 2 9
Current rupees ...		1,49,954	7 6